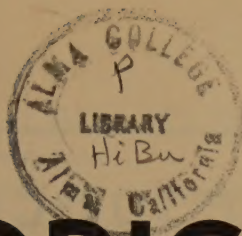


# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

*A Service Quarterly for Teachers and Students of History*

Vol. XXXII

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# THE BRITISH CHURCH AND ITS REMNANTS

DONALD ATTWATER

The Roman conquest of what is now Great Britain began in the year 43, only a few years after the end of the earthly ministry of Jesus Christ. At that time of course the English people had not yet come into existence. The Romans called the country Britannia (modern England, Wales and Scotland to the Antonine Wall) and its inhabitants Britanni. These were a mixed people, who spoke a Celtic language, the ancestor of modern Welsh and Breton and of the now dead Cornish tongue.

About 206, in his *Adversus Iudaeos*, vii, Tertullian wrote: "In whom else have the nations of the world believed, except in Christ who has already come?" He quotes Acts ii 9-11, and goes on, "with others as well . . . with places of the Britons which, though inaccessible to the Romans, have yielded to Christ". Writing towards the middle of the same century, Origen asks (Homily iv. *I in Ezech.*, xiv): "When, before the coming of Christ, did the land of Britain agree to worship the one God?" And elsewhere he says that most Britons and others have yet to hear the gospel. There is a distinctly rhetorical flavour about these references: in particular, Tertullian's *inaccessa Romanis loca* must not be taken too seriously. But it does seem that there were Christians in Britain very early, 150 years or so after the first Pentecost.

Of how Christianity thus came to the Britons there is no record, but there are, inevitably, several worthless legends. Only one need be mentioned: the one which tells us that Pope St. Eleutherus (d.c. 189) sent missionaries to this country at the request of one Lucius, "King of Britain". This story has been discussed in modern times by, among others, Haddan and Stubbs in *Councils*, vol. i, pp. 26-26, Duchesne in *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, pp. ccxxii ff., Charles Plummer in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii, p. 14, J. P. Kirsch in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 379 and Dom Leclercq in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie*, vol. ix, cc. 2661-2663; and, as Father Herbert Thurston remarks, "No one of these shows any disposition to regard the episode as historically trustworthy". Adolf Harnack's hypothesis of how the story

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Mr. Attwater is author of a number of articles and books on Church history and is considered one of the outstanding scholars of England.

arose has been favourably received.<sup>1</sup> The most that can be said is that in all probability the first Christians were Roman soldiers and settlers, and traders from Gaul. Of the sending of any Christian mission to Roman Britain there is no authentic indication whatever.

The story of the protomartyr, St. Alban at Verulamium, as it has come down to us is bristling with difficulties and fantasy. But the martyrdom both of him and of SS. Julius and Aaron at Caerleon doubtless rests on a reliable tradition. Alban is fully discussed by W. Levison in *Antiquity*, vol. xv, pp. 337-359.

The first really solid ground we come to—and it is a very significant reference—is in connection with the important council held at Arles in 314. Three bishops were present from Britain: Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius, perhaps of Lincoln, together with a priest and a deacon (The name of Eborius sounds a little suspicious and it may cover up a scribe's lack of knowledge; but it could be a genuine indigenous name). Their fellow bishops at Arles were from Gaul, Italy, Spain and North Africa. They repeated the Roman condemnation in 313 of Donatus and his followers, promulgated canons of discipline, and sent a very respectful letter to Pope St. Silvester I; in it they expressed regret that he had been unable to be with them, and sent him a copy of the canons, directing his attention to one about the observance of Easter on a uniform date that he, their "very sacred master and brother Silvester", might "send letters [about it] to all according to custom".

This is the first we hear of an organized British church: and we find its bishops associated with their European and African brethren, recognizing the leadership of the bishop of Rome, and in communion with the Universal Church from East to West. The British church was one with the rest of the Christian world. Christianity was evidently spreading here during the fourth century; but when the gospel was first preached in such remote parts as modern Wales and Cornwall—the surviving "British Celtic" areas—is a very uncertain matter. The scanty evidence seems to favour the view of Professor Hugh Williams, for whom "It is difficult to believe that there were Christian churches in Wales before the beginning of the fifth century".

There is some talk of Arianism in the British church. There were three of its bishops (perhaps more) at the unfortunate

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, vol. xxii, pp. 767-770.



Council of Rimini in 359; and they were so poor that they accepted the Arian Emperor Constantius's payment of their expenses, which many of their colleagues regarded as *indecent*. But that does not prove anything against their orthodoxy, and the complaint in the *De excidio Britanniae* of St. Gildas—the Jeremiah of Britain, called “the Wise”, but not always wise unto sobriety—was probably at least exaggerated. Pelagianism was another matter. Pelagius himself seems certainly to have been a Briton, and not, as Jerome says, *Scoticae gentis* (i.e., Irish);<sup>2</sup> but he early left his native land, never to return. However, there were Pelagian teachers in Britain, few but evidently influential, for St. Germanus of Auxerre twice, in 429 and c. 442, came over from Gaul to deal with them—one of the best attested occurrences in the history of the British church (cf. W. Levison's edition of the *Vita Sti Germani* by Constantius).<sup>3</sup> And between those dates this same Germanus consecrated to the episcopate the greatest son of that church. It is not known exactly where St. Patrick was born—somewhere, presumably, between the river Clyde and the river Severn; but it is not perhaps sufficiently realized that Britain had the honour of being the native land of the apostle of Ireland.

Little enough is known of the British church. But what there is shows it clearly to have been an integral part of the one Universal Church: established in the towns and spreading in the countryside; not wealthy, and not without culture; on the western edge of the Roman *imperium*, but in touch with the churches of Gaul and Italy and open to the influences of the age, both good and evil.

A score of years before St. Patrick's return to Ireland as a bishop, Roman rule in Britain came to an end; to fend for themselves was now the task of the Romano-Britons—for so they must be called: they had been part of the Roman empire for 400 years—a period as long as that separating us from Queen Elizabeth I. Probably about 450 the *adventus Saxonum* began: that process of invasion and settlement by Angles and Saxons that produced the English people, gave us the English language, and turned part of Britain into England. It seems to have taken over a century to subdue the Romano-Britons; what we call

<sup>2</sup> His name is translated “Morgan” in the Welsh version of the XXXIX Articles, but apparently it should be “Morien” (*mor*=*sea*=*pelagos*).

<sup>3</sup> About 397 St. Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, was invited into Britain, and came, for what purpose is not known.

Wales was never subdued by the Saxons, and Cornwall not for another 250 years.

The Anglo-Saxons were heathen. As they advanced the British Christian church was destroyed, till eventually it survived only in Wales and Cornwall (and patchily in the north-west). Those areas have the longest Christian tradition of anywhere in the British Isles. This remnant of the British church, with Ireland, Scotland and Brittany ("Little Britain", to which there were migrations of south-western Britons in the fifth-sixth century and later), is often referred to as the Celtic church;<sup>4</sup> and there is not infrequently attributed to it, and to the British part of it in particular, a deliberate autocephaly or independence, as a sort of anachronistic national church. This is a misunderstanding.

During the Roman period the British church was simply and consciously an element in the Universal Church. There is no reason to suppose that what was left of it after the Saxon irruption was in essence anything different: but its circumstances were changed. It was now materially cut off from contact with the churches of the continent, and from whatever direct dealings it may have had with the Roman see: but there is no evidence whatever of heresy or schism. In his magistral *History of Wales* Sir John Lloyd bears witness that "No theological differences parted the Roman from the Celtic church, for the notion that the latter was the home of a kind of primitive Protestantism, of apostolic purity and simplicity, is without any historical basis". There have been Catholic churches in the unhappy position of being isolated and cut off by *force majeure* at many periods of history, including our own day. The Christians of Wales and Cornwall could at least keep contact by sea with their fellows in Ireland, Scotland and Brittany, and especially during the earlier era of isolation there were constant ecclesiastical comings and goings between those countries.

The sixth century in particular was the age of the British Celtic saints, many of whose names, as found in place-names, become familiar to the most casual visitor. Even after the re-

<sup>4</sup> There was, of course, no such thing as a unified Celtic church, only Celtic churches. In any case "Celtic" is primarily a linguistic term—the composition of peoples speaking a Celtic language is another matter. I am not here concerned with ethnology; but it is worth noting that the learned in the matter now tend to attribute a considerable "Celtic" (i.e., Romano-British) element to the English, and a very considerable pre-Celtic element to the Welsh.



dedicatory activities of Norman and English churchmen, a large majority of the ancient churches of Wales and Cornwall are still dedicated in honour of local saints. Unfortunately their *vitae* as we have them are very late and of little historical value. But there are a few exceptions, *e.g.*, those of Samson, Paul Aurelian, Winwaloe; and the *Vita Samsonis*, for example, provides good evidence that in his time (he died *c.* 565) there were still some heathen in Cornwall. It is at any rate clear that these holy men were mostly monks and hermits, who from their monasteries and cells evangelized and ministered to their neighbours. The monasteries, of course, were nothing like later Glastonbury or more modern religious houses: the visitor can get a good idea of what they were like at Chysauster in west Cornwall, where remains of the stone huts and courtyards of a British village are wonderfully preserved.<sup>5</sup>

There is no sign in the residual British church of bishops with delimited dioceses as we understand them. It was a monastic church, and its monasticism was *sui generis* (cf. early Ireland). There were bishops of course—some of the saints were bishops—but they were abbot-bishops who lived in monasteries and gave to them the lustre of the episcopal order.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand we know nothing surprising about its worship. Not that there is any documentary evidence about British rites, but no doubt they resembled those of Ireland.<sup>7</sup> Like the rest of the West they were in Latin; perhaps what we should notice most might be a greater ceremoniousness than we are used to in our sober Roman usages.<sup>8</sup>

The fact that the British church had its own rites and religious customs has been put forward by some as further evidence for a special or independent position of the pre-Augustinian church in this land. Such a misunderstanding arises from the idea (common among Catholics as well as others) of a "monolithic"

<sup>5</sup> For Welsh and Cornish saints see A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae* (1944) and G. H. Doble's series of monographs on the Cornish saints (1925-1944). Baring-Gould and Fisher's *Lives of the British Saints* (4 vols., 1907-1913) is a very useful work, but it has to be used with extreme caution.

<sup>6</sup> See Lloyd, *op. cit.*; A. W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Christian Origins*; T. Taylor, *The Celtic Christianity of Cornwall*.

<sup>7</sup> cf. H. Jenner, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. iii, pp. 493 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The word "Mass" has not been naturalized in the Celtic tongues. They call it The Offering (*Offerenda* or *Offerentia*): Welsh, *Yr offeren*, Cornish, *An offeren*, Irish, *An t-aifreann*, etc.

Catholic Church, a church not simply one in herself and her faith but uniform in her observances and other accidentals. Such of course has never existed, and does not exist now. And the peculiar British customs—such as those to which St. Augustine of Canterbury was to take exception—were in themselves no more evidence of schism or “independence” than are the far-wider-reaching practices of Ukrainians or Maronites today—or for that matter of Carthusian monks or the province of Milan.

In 597 St. Augustine and his monks, sent by Pope St. Gregory the Great to preach the gospel to the heathen English, landed in Kent, the south-east corner of the country. He knew about the British Christians in the far west, and learned of certain customs of theirs which he disapproved—their obsolete dating of Easter, their form of tonsure, something unspecified lacking in their baptismal rite. But he did not question that they were Catholics like himself, for he invoked their help in his task. It was refused. The story can be read in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, bk ii, cap. 2.<sup>9</sup> In a sentence, the British bishops and abbots would not change their date of Easter and amend (“complete”) their rite of baptism, nor receive Augustine as their archbishop, deeming him a proud and overbearing man. Bede does not say so, but hatred of the English (though it has perhaps been exaggerated) doubtless had a good deal to do with this refusal, for neither would they join “in preaching the word of God to the English nation”. Doubtless too, though again Bede is silent on the point, Augustine made it clear that Pope Gregory had explicitly given the British bishops into his care for instruction and correction.<sup>10</sup>

It is one more example of those socio-politico-ecclesiastical quarrels that are so unhappily common in the history of the Church even to our own day. Sir John Lloyd<sup>11</sup> remarks that no doubt the British bishops “had not been used to acknowledging any special authority over other churches as vested in the bishop of Rome”; and goes on, “Yet this was due to Celtic isolation and not to any anti-Roman feeling”. He then cites St. Columban. Other writers have been less judicious. They posit a strong element of deliberateness in the Celtic isolation, they again in-

<sup>9</sup> Bede, our only source, is a rather hostile witness as regards the Britons, among other reasons perhaps because there were still vivid memories of the unholy alliance between the Welsh Christian Cadwallon and the heathen Penda of Mercia.

<sup>10</sup> *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. i, cap. 27.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 173.



voke those divergences from continental European or Roman practice; and they again present us with an independent British church that was at once Catholic and self-sufficient. With respect, may it be suggested that they have not given enough consideration either to human psychology or to similar phenomena of ecclesiastical history elsewhere, and that they are inadequately informed about the theory and practice of the Catholic Church.<sup>12</sup>

The Celtic church in Wales maintained itself until the Norman conquest of England in 1066. It accepted the Roman date of Easter in 768, but continued its monastic or quasi-monastic organization: most of the "mother-churches" seem to have come into the hands of *claswyr*, a sort of rudimentary collegiate "canons," under an abbot; and in time some of these abbots were lay men, who treated their abbacy as a family property.<sup>13</sup> Under Norman influence the old episcopal centres (there were others) of Saint Davids (Mynyw, Menevia), Bangor-in-Arfon and Morgannwg (Llandaff), to which was added Saint Asaph, definitively became diocesan bishoprics, which the Normans, preparing for the still distant subjugation of the Welsh people by King Edward I, annexed to the southern English metropolis of Canterbury.

Cornwall was more open to English influences during the centuries after the Augustinian disagreement. It was the opinion of A. W. Haddan that the two British bishops who in 664 were co-consecrators of St. Chad, with the Saxon bishop Wine, were Cornish.<sup>14</sup> In 705 St. Aldhelm of Sherborne in Wessex addressed a letter to Geraint, prince of Dumnonia (the south-western peninsula), which is held by some to have been successful in reconciling the clergy of Cornwall to the Roman Easter etc.<sup>15</sup> The English king Athelstan put a bishop at Saint Germans c. 930; and in 1050 King St. Edward the Confessor in effect transferred Cornwall to the new English diocese of Exeter.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Pope St. Gregory himself makes hay of the "different customs" argument in his letter to Augustine (*Eccl. Hist.*, bk i, cap. 27), where he tells him that he may make up a Mass liturgy *ad hoc*, with elements from "the Roman, the Gaulish or any other church", for the use of his English converts.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary through Wales*, bk ii, cap. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, bk iii, cap. 28.

<sup>15</sup> Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>16</sup> In the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons "the Roman planted, the Scot watered, the Briton did nothing". Celtic influence became preponderant in Anglian Northumbria which, after the collapse of the mission of St. Paulinus there, was evangelized by Scots and Irish by way of Iona. Here

From thenceforward the history of the Church in Wales and Cornwall is part of that of the church in England. But it is only fitting to add that the Welsh and Cornish received the Protestant Reformation with a special unwillingness. In both places the fact that it was an English movement was a powerful factor, and language came into it: if you speak only Cornish or Welsh you have no special enthusiasm for an English liturgy—they were at least used to hearing Latin. Of the beatified English martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fifteen were in fact Welsh, from Bd John Eynon in 1539 to Bd David Lewis in 1679, and many others gave their lives. Welshmen played important parts in the foundation of the English College at Douay and the revival of the English Benedictine congregation; Dr. Griffith Roberts was the confessor of St. Charles Borromeo, and death alone deprived Dr. Owen Lewis of a cardinal's hat. But it was Welsh students who were the occasion of the trouble at the English College in Rome in 1579, an important factor in the ultimate failure of an adequate supply of Welsh-speaking clergy. With that failure went the last hope of saving the Welsh for Catholicity; and the persecution that followed the Titus Oates "plot" in 1678 finally killed any chance of a Catholic revival. "The racial animosity and the sectarian prejudices, so lightly aroused in Rome in 1579 . . . led, in the long result, to Wales being left derelict, until the Puritans came and held before Welshmen a new religious ideal which, whatever be its defects, had the merit of meeting the spiritual needs and conforming to the distinctive genius of the people of Wales."<sup>17</sup> In other circumstances Wales might have become religiously another Ireland.

Nevertheless there are a dozen places in Wales, mostly in the south-east, that have an unbroken Catholic tradition to this day. A century and a half ago indigenous Catholic families were still to be found in them, but now they are very rare and scattered individuals. The history of the Church in Wales since then has been neatly summed up as "the organization of a non-Welsh mission to strangers within the gates".

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the Easter controversy was settled at the Synod of Whitby in 664. The spokesmen of both sides on that occasion would doubtless be astonished to learn that even in 1952 Easter is not celebrated universally on the same day in the Catholic Church (which is indeed a pity).

<sup>17</sup> Llewelyn Williams, *The Making of Modern Wales*.

<sup>18</sup> *Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in . . . Cornwall . . .*, 1857, p. 16.



In 1549 the men of Cornwall and Devon rose in insurrection against the government's religious policy: "forgetful of the maxim *Non resistendo sed perferendo*", observes Dr. George Oliver;<sup>18</sup> it was put down bloodily. Twenty-eight years later, Bd Cuthbert Mayne, the first martyr among the continental seminary priests, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Launceston. But the change once brought about, Catholicity in Cornwall, even more than in Wales, tended to disappear completely. The Exeter diocesan census of 1672 returned 67 Papists in Cornwall, 43 of them in one section, where they were probably associated with two local families of Catholic gentry. So low a figure at that time seems unlikely, and it is possible that some kindly parsons (who made the census) did not want to do their neighbours a bad turn by putting them down as Papists. But after John Wesley had poured his passionate evangelism over the parched and rocky earth, Catholicity in Cornwall must have been virtually extinct.<sup>19</sup> The Cornish historian and liturgist, Henry Jenner, told the present writer thirty years ago that in his opinion there was not a single hereditary Cornish Catholic in the county.

The oldest living Catholic centre in Cornwall is at Lanherne, where in 1794 the eighth Lord Arundell, of an ancient recusant family, gave his mansion to the English Carmelite nuns driven from Antwerp by the French Revolution. In Wales, as has been said, old centres are more numerous. One modern centre there is unique. On the island of Caldey, off the coast of St. David's Dyfed (Pembrokeshire), the Cistercian monks have the remains of a monastery of Celtic origin. The existing buildings are medieval, but the site takes us back to the British saints of the sixth century. It was brought back to the Church by the reconciliation of the Anglican Benedictines of Caldey in 1913.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wesley's *Journal*, s.a., 1745, July 2.

# JAMES MADISON AND THE HAMILTON FUNDING PLAN: A CHARGE OF INCONSISTENCY INVESTIGATED

FRANK B. COSTELLO  
GONZAGA UNIVERSITY

The puzzling paradoxes of the last quarter of the eighteenth century are aptly described by Dickens' first paragraph in *The Tale of Two Cities*: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, . . . it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, . . . it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, . . . we had everything before us . . ." The last decade of that quarter witnessed the first faltering steps of the baby United States; her balance was unsteady; her parents, though seemingly united in their attempts to teach her to walk among the nations of the earth, pulled her arms in opposite directions. Even the rallying efforts of Washington, the godfather, could not prevent bitter quarrels in his official family. The greatest hostility, that between Hamilton and Jefferson, is well known and has been used as a diving board for plunges into the stream of American political parties flowing from this conflict. Between these two men, warmly admired by each contestant before the battle, stood James Madison. His political position has been overshadowed by the strong personalities of the two Secretaries in Washington's Cabinet; his political philosophy, in the eyes of partial historians, was poisoned by contact with the one and then the other. To the Jeffersonians, Madison is a converted Federalist; to the Hamiltonians, a treacherous traitor. Very few have examined Madison's position and philosophy independently of the Hamilton-Jefferson feud. This must be done to arrive at a knowledge of the principles that prompted Madison to associate with Hamilton at the birth of the new nation and work with Jefferson in its growing years.

Too many historians then, not making this necessary distinction, have dismissed Madison as vacillatingly inconsistent in his principles. Probably this stems from Hamilton himself, who, at the height of his differences with Jefferson wrote an impassioned letter to Col. Edward Carrington of Virginia,<sup>1</sup> a friend

<sup>1</sup> Col. Edward Carrington was United States Marshal and collector of Internal Revenue for the District of Virginia. He had married Eliza Ambler, sister of Mrs. John Marshall. Beveridge in one place inaccurately refers to him as Marshall's brother-in-law. A. J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall*, 4 vols., Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, Vol. II, p. 124.



of all three men, in which he lists his grievances against Jefferson and Madison. There is a bitter scowl for the former and a puzzled frown for Madison, mostly because of his association with Jefferson but also because of betrayal of Hamilton's fiscal policies. This alleged betrayal concerned Hamilton's program to fund the debt. In this paper an attempt will be made to investigate these charges against Madison as viewed independently of the personalities who were the real antagonists. The purpose is to discover if the charges are true in the light of the documents of the period.

On May 26, 1792, Alexander Hamilton wrote to his friend Col. Edward Carrington of Virginia with the probable purpose of explaining his break with Jefferson and Madison to the Virginia Federalists:

When I accepted the office I now hold, it was under the full persuasion, that from similarity of thinking, conspiring with personal good-will, I should have the firm support of Mr. Madison, in the general course of my administration. Aware of the intrinsic difficulties of the situation, and the powers of Mr. Madison, I do not believe I should have accepted under a different situation. I have mentioned the similarity of thinking between that gentleman and myself. This was relative, not merely to the general principles of national policy and government, but to the leading points, which were likely to constitute questions in the administration of the finances. I mean, first, the expediency of funding the debt; second, the inexpediency of discrimination between original and present holders; third, the expediency of assuming the State debts.<sup>2</sup>

As to the first point, the expediency of funding the debt, Hamilton continues that Madison's sentiments at one period may be found in his address to Congress on April 26, 1783, favoring the funding of the debt, which was planned by him without suggestions from the committee, (on which he and Madison served). The Secretary observes that Madison's "conversations upon various occasions since have been expressive of a continuance in the same sentiment; nor, indeed, has he yet contradicted it, by any part of his official conduct."<sup>3</sup> Yet the Secretary apprehends a change in this particular and promises to state it later.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (ed. H. C. Lodge) 12 vols., New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, Vol. IX, p. 513. Hereafter cited: *Hamilton: Works*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Towards the end of the same letter, in his attempt to prove Madison in league with Jefferson against him, he writes:

Secondly, as to the tendency of the views of the two gentlemen who have been named. Mr. Jefferson is an avowed enemy to a funded debt. Mr. Madison disavows, in public, any intention to undo what has been done, but, in private conversation with Mr. Charles Carroll, Senator, (this gentleman's name I mention confidentially, though he mentioned the matter to Mr. King and several other gentlemen as well as myself, and if any chance should bring you together you would easily bring him to repeat it to you) he favored the sentiment of Mr. Mercer's speech, that a Legislature had no right to fund the debt by mortgaging permanently the public revenues, because they had no right to bind posterity. The inference is that what has been unlawfully done, may be undone.<sup>4</sup>

The inference may be logical but the implication is that Hamilton in writing the above was allowing his passion to cloud the normal accuracy of his mind. He admitted himself that there was no indication of a change of policy on Madison's part, and he could hardly have forgotten the real leadership of Madison in carrying the fight for the funding of the debt successfully through the House. Throughout this period Madison was one of the strongest advocates of funding the debt. In the Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 he had submitted to the "Committee of Detail" a specific resolution to empower the legislature to pay the public debt.<sup>5</sup> In answer to a letter from Hamilton requesting his views on the financial problems, Madison, on the 19th of November, 1789, had replied:

I consider it very desirable that the provision to be made should be such as will put the debt in the manifest course of extinguishment. There are respectable opinions, I know, in favor of prolonging, if not perpetuating it. But, without entering into the general reasoning on that subject, there are considerations which give a peculiarity to the case of the United States. One is, that such a policy is disrelished to a degree which will render heavier burthens for discharging the debt more acceptable than lighter ones, not having that object in view.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton, *Works*, Vol. IX, p. 524.

<sup>5</sup> "Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 as Reported by James Madison", *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States*, (ed. Charles C. Tansill) Washington, G.P.O., 1927, p. 564.

<sup>6</sup> William C. Rives, *History of the Life and Times of James Madison*, 3 vols., Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1868, Vol. III, p. 76n.



A little later he praises the report of the Secretary of the Treasury in a letter of March 4, 1790 to Edmund Pendleton as, in general, "well digested, and illustrated and supported by very able reasoning."<sup>7</sup> Search has failed to reveal any statement of Madison to indicate that he was opposed to the general plan of Hamilton to extinguish the debt. Hamilton knew that but, relying on a second-hand report of a conversation Madison is supposed to have had on one occasion in which he is alleged to have expressed his favor for the sentiments in a speech by Mr. Mercer, tried to justify associating Madison with Jefferson as "an avowed enemy to a funded debt".<sup>8</sup> That the charge is false, if not proved sufficiently by Madison's unswerving attitude in Congress, is clear from a letter written at this time to Jefferson expressly disavowing the doctrine imputed to him by Hamilton. On February 4, 1790 he wrote:

The *improvements* made by the dead form a debt against the living, who take the benefit from them. This debt cannot be otherwise discharged than by a proportionate obedience to the will of the authors of the improvements . . . Debts may be incurred with a direct view to the interests of the unborn, as well as of the living. Debts may even be incurred principally for the benefit of posterity. Such, perhaps, is the debt incurred by the United States. There seems then, to be some foundation in the nature of things, in the relation which one generation bears to another, for the *descent* of obligations from one to another.

And all that seems indispensable in stating the account between the dead and the living is, to see that the debts against the latter do not exceed the advances made by the former.<sup>9</sup>

It is unnecessary to state further that Hamilton's first charge against Madison of inconsistency in his principles regarding the funding of the public debt, is utterly unfounded, except in the Secretary's mind.

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<sup>7</sup> *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison fourth President of the United States, in Four Volumes Published by the Order of Congress*, New York, R. Worthington, 1884. Vol. I, p. 508. Hereafter cited: Madison, *Works*.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton, *Works*, Vol. IX, p. 524.

<sup>9</sup> Madison, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 504. For a recent study emphasizing the contrast between Jefferson's and Madison's positions on the public debt, cf. Adrienne Koch's *Jefferson and Madison the great Collaboration*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. pp 62-108.

The second resolution to be considered by the House of Representatives was that "permanent funds ought to be appropriated for the payment of interest on, and the general discharge of, the domestic debt."<sup>10</sup> Here Madison enters the arena and proceeds to wrestle with the difficult question of how to redeem the depreciated government certificates then outstanding. The point under discussion, as Madison insisted, was not whether the domestic debt should be paid, but to whom payment was due. The situation had become complicated by speculators who had learned that the government meant to redeem at par. Writing to Jefferson the same month that the Secretary's *Report* had been made, Madison complains:

Previous to its being made, the avidity for stock had raised it from a few shillings to eight or ten shillings in the pound and emissaries are still exploring the interior and distant parts of the Union in order to take advantage of the ignorance of holders.<sup>11</sup>

Four days later, January 28, 1790, Mr. Jackson of Georgia asserted on the floor of the house:

Since this report has been read, a spirit of havoc, speculation and ruin has arisen, and been cherished by people who had access to the information the report contained . . . Three vessels have sailed within this fortnight from this port, freighted for speculation. They are intended to purchase up the State and other securities in the hands of the uninformed, though honest, citizens of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.<sup>12</sup>

Madison felt deeply the injustice of making the whole payment to the speculator who had taken advantage of advance tips and of the ignorance of original holders by acquiring certificates at one-eighth their value.<sup>13</sup> He thought there was something radically wrong in allowing those who rendered a bona fide consideration to lose seven-eighths of their dues, and those who have no particular merit towards their country to gain 7 or 8 times as much as they advanced.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Rives, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 78. Rives' summaries of the debates in the *Annals* will be followed for the sake of brevity.

<sup>11</sup> Madison, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 502.

<sup>12</sup> Rives, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>13</sup> Irving Brant is the latest investigator to verify with documents what was mere rumor of speculation in Madison's day. Irving Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution 1787-1800*, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1950, p. 304.

<sup>14</sup> Madison, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 502.



In a speech in the House on that day Madison examined the claims of the original holders in the light of justice and good faith, concluding that these were the natural foundation of public credit. Stating with fairness, however, the position of the present holders of public securities, he lists the possible ways of solving the problem:

Such, then, being the interfering claims on the public, one of three things must be done,—pay both, reject wholly one or the other, or make a composition between them on some principle of equity. To pay both is perhaps beyond the public faculties; and, as it would far exceed the value received by the public, it would not be expected by the world, nor even by the creditors themselves. To reject wholly the claims of either, is equally inadmissible. Such a sacrifice of those who hold the written engagement of the government would be fatal to the establishment of public credit. To make the other class the sole victims was an idea at which human nature recoiled. A composition, then, is the only expedient that remains. Let it be a liberal one, in favor of the present holders; let them have the highest price which had prevailed in the market; and let the residue belong to the original sufferers.<sup>15</sup>

Objectively this plan was the most just to all and admitted to be so. "The equity", Madison wrote to Jefferson, "of this proposition is not contested. Its impracticability will be urged as an insuperable objection".<sup>16</sup> Hamilton in the letter to Col. Carrington confessed that he leaned to Madison's position but abandoned it as "impracticable".<sup>17</sup>

Madison's opinion was opposed by a formidable phalanx of able speakers who urged the sanctity of the legal rights acquired by the purchasers and appealed to the sentiments of commercial vigor in favor of the exact fulfillment of the written engagements of the government, into whatever hands they may have fallen and whatever means acquired.

To these arguments urged against him, Madison replied that he

. . . must renounce every sentiment he had hitherto cherished, before his complaisance could admit that America ought to erect the monuments of her gratitude,

<sup>15</sup> Rives, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

<sup>16</sup> Madison, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 507.

<sup>17</sup> Hamilton, *Works*, Vol. IX, p. 516.

not to those who saved her liberties, but to those who had enriched themselves in her funds . . . He begged the gentlemen not to yield too readily to the artificial niceties of forensic reasoning. It was a great and extraordinary case. It ought to be decided on the great and fundamental principles of justice. He had been animadverted upon for appealing to the heart as well as to the head. He would make bold, nevertheless, to repeat that, in great and unusual questions of public morality, the heart is the best casuist.<sup>18</sup>

To the charge of inconsistency because of the language used in his address in Congress in 1783, he answered:

He had been repeatedly reminded of the address on Congress in 1783, which rejected a discrimination between original and purchasing holders of public securities. At that period, the certificates to the army and citizens at large had not been issued. The transfers were confined to loan-office certificates, were not numerous, and had been, in great part, made with little loss to the original creditor. At present the transfers extended to a vast portion of the whole debt; and the loss to the original holders had been immense. The injustice which had taken place has been enormous and flagrant and makes redress a great national object.<sup>19</sup>

Madison had finished his plea for non-discrimination in 1783 with a saving clause: "A wise nation will never permit those who relieve the wants of their country, or who rely most on its faith, its firmness, and its resources, when either of them is distrusted, to suffer by the event."<sup>20</sup> Hamilton, bent on non-discrimination whatever the circumstances, continued to urge the charge of inconsistency.

As to the second part [the inexpediency of discrimination between original and present holders] the same address [Madison's in 1783] in Congress is an evidence of Mr. Madison's sentiments at the same period. And I had been informed that at a later period he had been, in the Legislature of Virginia, a strenuous and successful opponent of the principle of discrimination. Add to this that a variety of conversations had taken place between him and myself, down to the commencement of the new government, in none of which had he glanced at the idea of a change of opinion. I wrote him a letter after my appointment, in the recess of Congress, to obtain his

<sup>18</sup> Rives, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Madison, *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 453.



sentiments on the subject of finances. In his answer there is not a lisp of his new system.<sup>21</sup>

So much for Madison's position and Hamilton's charges against him. Was Madison reversing his principles? It would seem that Hamilton considered *non-discrimination* in itself as the great principle of action. Apart from new situations, new circumstances and justice, non-discrimination was the guide of his program. Madison, in contrast, considered justice as fundamental and discrimination or non-discrimination as a means to accomplish it. He favored non-discrimination in 1783. After the speculators had essentially changed the state of the question in 1790 by taking unfair advantage of the original holders, non-discrimination would be unjust and this Hamilton would admit. The equity of Madison's stand was never questioned. Hamilton testified to Madison's sincerity. . . . "my reliance on his good-will towards me, disposed me to believe that his suggestions were sincere . . ." <sup>22</sup> Washington, who knew Madison much better than Hamilton, was sure that Madison was fully sincere in his motives. In a letter to David Stuart the President wrote:

Mr. Madison, on the question of discrimination, was actuated, I am convinced, by the purest motives, and most heartfelt conviction; but the subject was delicate, and perhaps had better never been stirred.<sup>23</sup>

But for all Madison's sincerity, the resolution to redeem all outstanding certificates regardless of the holder was passed in the House by a large majority. "Ah well," was the sighing comment of a 'Citizen of Boston', "Madison, Jackson and others in favor of discrimination in funding the public debt have probably immortalized their memories."<sup>24</sup> Far from immortalizing his memory, subsequent generations seem to have forgotten Madison's efforts as champion of the Revolutionary War G.I.'s.

The third allegation of change of policy hurled against Madi-

<sup>21</sup> Hamilton, *Works*, Vol. IX, p. 514.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 516.

<sup>23</sup> *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, (ed. John C. Fitzpatrick) 39 vols., Washington, Government Printing Office. 1931-1944. Vol. XXXI, p. 30. Maclay's *Journal* seems to indicate that Madison's sincerity later became stubborn pride. *Journal of William Maclay* (ed. Edgar S. Maclay), New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1890, p. 201.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from the *Independent Chronicle*, Boston, March 25, 1790, by Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton, the Struggle for Democracy in America*, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1925, p. 58.

son in the letter to Col. Carrington was his attitude on the proposed assumption of the state debts.

Having disposed of the question of discrimination between original and present holders of the national public securities, the recommendation of the Secretary's *Report* which declared "the United States do assume . . . and provide . . . for all such debts of the respective states",<sup>25</sup> was next taken up in the House of Representatives. The state of the question at this point was not that the Federal Government should not take on the obligations incurred by the states in the prosecution of the war. This had already been agreed to by the Congress and a commission was functioning to settle the problem.<sup>26</sup> Since the end of the War, each state was supposed to be caring for the liquidation of its own domestic debt. The financial situation in many states was so poor that very little in this regard was done, though in other states, Virginia notably, serious efforts had been made to reduce the state debt.

Hamilton's *Report* urged the assumption of the gross amount of the states' debts due to public creditors for whatever cause incurred. This roused a tempest that rocked the House in bitter debate from February to June, 1790. Madison was opposed to the assumption measure from the beginning but refrained from extensive debate until he discovered a plot to force the passage of the assumption plan by a refusal to vote for any of the funding measures until the states' debts were taken over. He confided to Monroe on April 17:

The Eastern members talk a strange language on the subject. They avow, some of them at least, a determination to oppose all provision for the public debt which does not include this, and intimate danger to the Union from a refusal to assume. We shall risk their prophetic menaces if we should continue to have a majority.<sup>27</sup>

Five days later in his speech of April 22 he gave the best exposition of his views. Before studying this speech for the charge of change, we should consider Madison's previous record on assumption plans.

<sup>25</sup> *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States; with an Appendix Containing Important State Papers and Public Documents and All Laws of a Public Nature with a Copious Index*, (ed. Joseph Gales) 42 vols. Washington Gales and Seaton, 1834, Vol. II, col. 2071. Hereafter cited: *Annals of Congress*.

<sup>26</sup> *Annals of Congress*, Vol. II, Col. 2214.

<sup>27</sup> Madison, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 517.



In his revenue plan of 1783 Madison had included a provision that the United States take over and pay all the war debts incurred by the states without the sanction of Congress. This provision he referred to as "bait"<sup>28</sup> to entice Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia into supporting his plan. These states failed to bite. When Congress pulled his assumption bait off the hook, he tried another lure. Of these Madison maneuvers his latest biographer says well: "Though he had no thought of making a gift to posterity, Madison at that moment invented one of the most sacred, most effective and tenacious of American political institutions—the congressional system of logrolling."<sup>29</sup>

Because of this aye of an aye logrolling tactic, it is difficult to determine whether Madison favored the assumption measure on principle in 1783. Very probably, since he expressly called it bait for the larger states, he regarded it as an expedient to marshal votes for his much needed revenue plan. We know that a few months earlier he had opposed Hamilton on this very point, moving in Congress that the states which had redeemed more than their share of the old money receive such credit "as equity might require."<sup>30</sup> He also protested gifts to speculators out of the public purse. Here in 1782 we find the very substance of the 1790 conflict with Madison on the same side in both discussions.

This is the place to dismiss Hamilton's absurd charge that Jefferson's opinions in 1790 caused Madison to change his views. Far from changing his original views, Madison in 1790 was following his first recorded opinion on the subject given in 1782. If the charge of inconsistency is to be hurled at all, it is Madison's position in the revenue plan of 1783, with the provision for assuming the debts of the states, that is vulnerable. As has been shown, the assumption provision of 1783 was an admitted lure for votes. Whatever subsequent relations between Madison and Jefferson might have been, Hamilton's charge that between January and June of 1790 Madison became an "avowed enemy to a funded debt"<sup>31</sup> under the influence of Jefferson's thinking

<sup>28</sup> *The Writing of James Madison*, (ed. Gaillard Hunt) 9 vols., New York G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900-1910, Vol. I, p. 453.

<sup>29</sup> Irving Brant, *James Madison the Nationalist 1780-1787*, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1948, p. 233.

<sup>30</sup> *The Writings of James Madison* (ed. Gaillard Hunt), "Debates in the Congress of the Confederation", November 26, 1782. Vol. I, p. 269.

<sup>31</sup> Hamilton, *Works*, Vol. IX, p. 524.

is ridiculous and should be regarded as such were it not that so many historians have repeated it without investigation. Besides neglecting to investigate Madison's previous record just discussed, they have overlooked the important fact that Jefferson did not arrive in New York until March 24, 1790. By that time the funding fight was in the third round.<sup>32</sup> Madison had already taken sides and was in the ring outpointing Hamilton in this round. There is not a scrap of evidence in the letters from Jefferson that Madison was taking instruction by correspondence course. The one long letter Madison sent to Jefferson at this period dealt partly with the problem of the public debt and Madison expressly repudiates Jefferson's doctrine, as was shown above. The only evidence of Jefferson's influence at that time is his bringing the reluctant Madison around to Hamilton's position after the historic dinner deal compromise!

Returning to Madison's speech of April 22, 1790, it can now be studied against this background. He begins by apologizing for troubling the committee with further observations on a subject that had been under discussion for so long. He admits that the side for assumption has points in its favor.<sup>33</sup> Though these are supposed to be weighty points, they are unsupported by reason. He then reviews in succession the arguments by which the advocates of the plan urged its adoption. The contention that the state debts are in their nature the debts of the United States, he shows to be unsupported either by principle or authority. He notices in particular the argument for the assumption of the gross debts of the states that had been deducted from the declaration in the Constitution that all debts contracted or engagements entered

<sup>32</sup> Jefferson later summarized the situation he found on his arrival. "This game [the discrimination fight] was over, and another was on the carpet at the moment of my arrival; and to this I was . . . innocently made to hold the candle." *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (ed. Paul Leicester Ford) 10 vols., New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892-1899, Vol. VI, p. 173.

<sup>33</sup> In taking the lead in the House against the assumption measure, Madison was not blind to some of its appealing points. Writing to Jefferson on March 8 he observed: "The present subject of deliberation is the proposed assumption of the State debts. Opinions are nearly balanced on it. My own is no otherwise favorable to the measure than as it may tend to secure a final settlement and *payment* of balances among the States." Madison, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 511. To Henry Lee a month later he admitted: It [the proposed assumption] has some good aspects and under some modifications would be favorable to the pecuniary interests of Virginia, and not inconsistent with the general principles of justice." *Ibid.*, p. 516.



into before the adoption of the Constitution should be as valid against the United States, as under the Articles on Confederation.<sup>34</sup> Whoever urged this, he contends, little understood the Constitution:

What was the situation of the State debts before the adoption of the Constitution? Was it understood that they were part of the debt of the United States? . . . Was it ever supposed that they were to be thrown into the common mass, and that the States should be called on collectively to provide for them? What would have been thought of such a proposition? Would it have been considered as consistent with equity? Would it have been thought constitutional? I am persuaded, if such a proposition had been made in the old Congress it would never have found a second; but for this reason, that the debts of the particular states were never considered as debts of the United States.<sup>35</sup>

When Madison went on to speak of the hardship and injustice, founded in the situation in particular states burdened by their debts incurred in the common cause, he was probing the sore spot in the whole question.

Much has been said of the situation of particular States, in case these debts should not be assumed. Much indeed, has been said of the distress and exertions of Massachusetts. But if we are to be governed by inquiries of this sort . . . we shall find then that an assumption will give as much dissatisfaction and work as much injustice to the majority of the States, as non-assumption may disappoint the citizens of Massachusetts.<sup>36</sup>

What would be the operation of the measure on a state like Virginia?<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Article VI of the Constitution reads: "All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation."

<sup>35</sup> *Annals of Congress*, Vol. II, col. 1591. *Ibid.* Col. 1462.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1591.

<sup>37</sup> Madison certainly had in Virginia constituents in mind during this debate. Writing to Edmund Pendleton on March 4 he feared that "a simple unqualified assumption of the existing debts would bear peculiarly hard on Virginia. She has paid, I believe, a greater part of her quotas since the peace than Massachusetts . . . It is agreed that she will not be less a creditor on the final settlement; yet, if such an assumption were to take place, she would pay towards the discharge of the debts in the proportion of one-fifth and receive back to her creditor citizens one-seventh or one-eighth, whilst Massachusetts would pay not more than one-seventh and receive back not less than one-fifth." Madison, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 509.

It will not be denied that Virginia sacrificed as much during the war in one shape or another, and contributed as much to the common defence of the States, as any among them—certainly as much as Massachusetts. These are facts that can, in time, be proved. Since the peace that State [Virginia] has made great exertions to comply with the requisition of Congress . . . Her specie payment into the Federal treasury, since the peace, exceeds six hundred thousand dollars . . . The exertions of Virginia to discharge the debt she involved herself in by the war have also been very great . . . If during the war, she has made as great exertions and suffered as much as any of the States; if she has, since the peace, paid her full proportion to the supplies of the federal treasury, at the same time exerting herself to the utmost to discharge her State debt . . . what must be said by the citizens of that State if, instead of a reimbursement, they are called on to make further advances.<sup>38</sup>

To the appeal made to him as a friend of the Constitution, that the assumption of the state debts would add strength to the national government, he replied that there was no man more anxious for the success of the government than he was and no one who would join more heartily in curing its defects. However, he wanted these defects to be remedied by grants of constitutional power, if that should be necessary.

These are the main points of Madison's brief against the assumption. That he argues well is shown in the defeat of the measure when it came up for vote after his speech. In this paper we are not concerned with the final settlement which was linked with the Potomac side for the national capital. The bill respecting the Potomac deal and the bill favoring the assumption of the state debts were finally both agreed to through the famous "dinner deal" of Jefferson.<sup>39</sup>

Credit must be given to Hamilton for the great skill he displayed in getting the last two recommendations passed by the House of Representatives. Partisans of Hamilton were bitter in their denunciations of Madison's opposition to their chief's plans. They had counted on Madison as being a well-known friend and supporter of the Constitution, assuming without authority and without regard of his sense of justice, that he would favor any measure that promised by whatever means, additional

<sup>38</sup> *Annals of Congress*, Vol. II, col. 1591.

<sup>39</sup> *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (ed. Paul Leicester Ford) 10 vols., New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892-99, Vol. I, pp. 162-4.



length to the national government. Hamilton in the letter to Col. Carrington admitted that the leading objects of the assumption plan were "an accession of strength to the national government and an assurance of order and vigor in the national finances, by doing away with the necessity of thirteen complicated and conflicting systems of finances" . . .<sup>40</sup> Previous impressions of the fairness of Mr. Madison's character, and his reliance of his good-will towards him, had disposed him to believe that his suggestions were sincere, even on the point of the assumption of the states' debts as they stood at the peace. As a result he leaned to Madison's views on assumption until he found them impracticable and on further reflection liable to immense difficulties.

The amazing thing to one reading dispassionately the debates in Congress on Hamilton's financial plan is to find Madison vilified by Hamilton, with language one would hardly call temperate, for the great offense of not being able conscientiously to support the measures and policies of the treasury department. A "spirit of rivalry",<sup>41</sup> "personal and political animosity",<sup>42</sup> a malignant design to subvert the head of the treasury, at the risk of rendering the government itself odious, and especially the charge of being a friend of Jefferson's, all these imputations were heaped on Madison for his inability, from personal conviction, to accede to means suggested by the Secretary to fund the public debt.

In the foregoing paper, nothing of an appraisal of the particular plans submitted by both Hamilton and Madison to accomplish the funding of the debt was attempted. That is to be left to the judgment of an economic historian. The sole purpose here was to hear the charges against Madison, listen to Madison's reasons for his stand, and judge if the alleged inconsistency of principle were true. The inquiry has failed to reveal any reversal of Madison's general principles regarding the three items listed by Hamilton in the beginning of the letter to Col. Carrington. Independently of any other action of Madison against Hamilton, the charges in this case were false, and the conclusion is inevitable that Hamilton, associating Madison with his personal enemy, Jefferson, was led to accuse Madison, beyond substantiation, of

<sup>40</sup> Hamilton, *Works*, Vol. IX, p. 516.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 522.

rather serious charges against his character.<sup>43</sup>

Henry Jones Ford, in a footnote on the funding fight, observes that the principal value of an analysis of the economic elements of the struggle is to protect the historian from undervaluating the motives that actuated opposition to the Hamilton measures. "The historian has the advantage of a perspective denied to participants in events, and this fact is apt to turn unduly to the discredit of lost causes."<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately historians, beginning with Hamilton, seem to have undervaluated Madison's motives and this has turned unduly to the discredit of his lost cause.

James Madison should be taken out of the smoke of the Hamilton-Jefferson feud and his character and philosophy examined by impartial historians. There is a real need for an appraisal of Madison's independent political thought. What Hamilton himself called only a "similarity"<sup>45</sup> in their thinking, has too long been taken for identity. The likeness between Madison and Jefferson has been stressed to the neglect of their fundamental differences. A recent scholar has discovered that, in his relations with Jefferson, Madison was completely himself and completely independent except when courtesy and friendship make strong men compliant.<sup>46</sup> More studies of this type may finally bring the real Madison into focus.

<sup>43</sup> Hamilton, towards the end of his letter to Carrington, seems to have gotten a scruple for some of the charges he had made. "Perhaps I have treated certain characters with too much severity. I have, however, not meant to do them an injustice, and from the bottom of my soul, believe I have drawn them truly; and it is of the utmost consequence to the public weal that they should be viewed in their true colors." Hamilton, *Works*, Vol. IX, p. 535.

<sup>44</sup> Henry Jones Ford, *Washington and his Colleagues, a Chronicle of the Rise and Fall of Federalism*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920, p. 77n.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 513.

<sup>46</sup> Adrienne Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 291.



# CATHOLIC POLITICAL THOUGHT IN COLONIAL MARYLAND GOVERNMENT: 1632 - 1649

THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY  
SAINT JOSEPH HALL

The earliest Maryland government brings out the political thinking of America's first Catholics. The Charter was planned by a Catholic and Catholics dominated the important Assembly of 1640 and its predecessors. Because the Proprietor and first colonists were laying the foundations of a government, they stated or implied in their political documents and actions important fundamental principles. For a decade or more following the Assembly of 1640 these principles became clearer, especially in the face of a rising Puritan influence in the Assembly.

On April 15, 1632, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, presented the Maryland Charter for approval of the English Royal Government. The Charter and some other documents of this early period of Maryland history which are attributed to George Calvert and his son, Cecil, who succeeded as proprietor of the Colony enunciate the principles of religious toleration which characterized the American Catholic thought.

The Charter itself was a landmark in religious toleration. The penal laws of England which oppressed religious conscience were to have no force in Maryland. There were to be no religious tests to qualify for voting or holding office. In a more positive way, the proprietor is described as the patron of religion so that he was positively obliged to promote the good of religion.

The publication of such a document in England could not but provoke hostile criticism, but Baltimore's diplomacy was equal to the situation. The Charter's contents were not well known until it was actually approved by the King. In order to insure some degree of favorable public opinion, Baltimore and his advisors published a pamphlet entitled, "Objections Answered." The toleration of Papists presented the greatest grounds for criticism. To meet this, the pamphlet states the Catholic teaching of freedom of conscience through the device of objection and answer:

It may be objected that the Lawes against the Roman Catholikes were made in order to their Conformity to the Protestant Religion, for the good of their Soules . . . but a License for them to depart this Kingdome, and go to Maryland, or any Countrey where they may have

free liberty of their Religion, would take away all hopes of their Conformity to the Church of England.<sup>1</sup>

The author then skilfully answers from the objector's viewpoint:

Conversion in matter of Religion, if it bee forced, would give little satisfaction to a wise state, of the convertites, for those who for worldly respect will breake their faith with God, doubtlesse will do it, upon a fit occasion much sooner with men, and for voluntary conversions such Lawes could be of no use, wherefore certainly the safety of King and Kingdom, was the sole ayme and end of them.<sup>2</sup>

"Objections Answered" touches on another aspect of religious toleration as Catholics conceived it, namely, that religious internationalism is consonant with a just national loyalty.<sup>3</sup> Post-Reformation England identified the Church with the national government and did not enter into the Catholic concept of two distinct orders, the spiritual and the temporal.

George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore and first Proprietor of Maryland, died in 1632, shortly after the Charter's approval. His son, Cecil, succeeded him as Lord Baltimore and Proprietor. Leonard Calvert, Cecil's younger brother, was designated governor to reside in America while Cecil remained in England. In the first years of the Colony, Baltimore sent directives from England to the Governor, which did much to establish toleration as well as reveal its spirit in the early days of the Colony.

One of these directives indicates how the Catholic majority is to conduct itself with regard to the Protestant minority:

His Lopp (Lordship) requires his said Gouvernor & Commissioners tht (that) in their voyage to Mary Land they be very carefull to preserve vnity & peace amongst all the passengers on Shipp-board, and that they suffer no scandall no offence to be giuen to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may heereafter be made, by them, in Virginea or in England, and that, for that end, they cause all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as priuately as may be, and that they instruct all the Romane Catholiques to be silent vpon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion;<sup>4</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 18*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>4</sup> *The Calvert Papers*, 131; *American History Told by Contemporaries*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), I, 247.

Here we have an impression of the charity and justice with which a minority should be treated. From subsequent practice we know that the public profession of religion was not proscribed. The restraint mentioned applied more to the period of arrival. In general, however, the extreme tensions between Protestants and Catholics made it advisable to prevent occasions of theological disputes. This care and respect for diversity of belief became well established in Maryland.

Four years after the Charter grant, Baltimore took further precautions to preserve toleration. Although the Charter prohibited tests, Baltimore exacted the following oath from Maryland governors as a further assurance:

I will make no difference of persons in conferring offices, favors or rewards for or in respect of religion, but merely as they shall be found faithful and well deserving and endued with moral virtues and abilities.<sup>5</sup>

A similar oath is prescribed twelve years later:

I will not by my-self nor any Person directly or indirectly molest or discountenance any Person whatsoever . . . for or in respect of his or her Religion . . . nor will I make any difference of Persons in Conferring Offices . . . for or in Respect of their sd Religion . . .<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the principle of toleration we see in this directive the suggestion of the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal orders.

The Maryland Charter abrogated many of the English laws and consequently the drafting of a code was the first project confronting the Colony. The Charter clearly allowed of an assembly but the Proprietor possessed independent power over the whole Colony. With its limited power the First Maryland Assembly convened at St. Mary's in 1635, one year after arrival in the New World. The representatives were to draft a code of laws which would be submitted to Baltimore for approval. They worked earnestly at what was indeed a difficult task only to see Baltimore reject their code.

Baltimore himself, with the assistance of his advisors, then proceeded to draw up laws for the Colony. The Assembly con-

<sup>5</sup> *Political Annals of the United Colonies* by George Chalmers (1780); *The Ark and the Dove* by J. Moss Ives (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), 146.

<sup>6</sup> *Maryland Archives* (Baltimore, 1885), I, 210; hereafter referred to as *Archives*.



vened in January, 1638, "to advise and consult" on the matter as the Charter had prescribed. The Maryland gentlemen advised and consulted and finally rejected the Baltimore draft, thus going one step beyond the Charter. Baltimore realized that the proprietary character of his Maryland Government did not change the fact that Englishmen were governed and that their age-old tradition called for a representative government which actually governed. As a consequence, Baltimore acquiesced. The Maryland Assembly would make its own laws.

Secretary of the Assembly John Lewger made many revisions in Baltimore's initial code and with the representatives labored through the year 1639. By 1640 a code of laws with an important preamble was completed and approved, most of its outstanding qualities being due to the first colonists of Maryland.

The preamble set the pattern for future government with these words:

The Inhabitants of this Province shall have all their rights and liberties according to the great Charter of England.<sup>7</sup>

The Maryland Catholics who dominated this Assembly were determined to express their mind unmistakably in the first law of the Colony. They had reverted to a pre-Reformation foundation for their political structure, rejecting the current English one which Lewger's draft proposed, namely, "the common law or Statute Law of England."<sup>8</sup>

A second clause of the preamble to the Act of 1640 provided for the rights of the Church. Again the Assembly was aware of a Medieval ideal as they took the following sentence from the Great Charter of 1215: "Holy Church within this province shall have all her rights and liberties."<sup>9</sup> Some of the legislation which the Assembly rejected in 1639 was intended to give spiritual jurisdiction to Baltimore in contradiction to the Great Charter principle. A consideration of this legislation will bring out the mentality of the Catholics in the Assembly when they rejected it. It will be clear that Baltimore had slipped into a Reformation view of the Church.

The beginning of Baltimore's troubles with the Catholic Church over which he sought this spiritual jurisdiction was the

<sup>7</sup> *Archives*, I, 83.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 41, 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

land-holdings of the missionaries. Indians to whom the missionaries were ministering made gifts of these lands. No other source of income was available to them; and the security of mission foundations, in the form of churches, and schools, especially for the future expansion of these, came to depend upon these early acquisitions. Unfortunately, the only practical way to maintain ownership was to form a corporate title to the land.

At this juncture, Baltimore invoked the law of mortmain which did not allow property to be held corporately. The whole case was debatable and much litigation ensued. More than a civil suit was involved; there was here a case of the Proprietor failing to meet his obligations as "patron" of religion. In addition, Baltimore demanded military service from clerics which further indicates his failing.

From temporalities, Baltimore proceeded further and legislated for spiritual jurisdiction. We know of this legislation from the preliminary drafts of Secretary Lewger which were rejected in 1639.<sup>10</sup> Ministers of the Sacraments had to get the permission of civil authorities to exercise jurisdiction. Absolution was not to be denied the dying. The degrees of kinship for the validity of marriages were to be determined by the Governor. Missionaries needed the Government's permission to visit Indians in various places for Baptisms.

Here we have a picture of the spiritual order subordinated to the temporal ruler according to the mind of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. There is evidence that John Lewger was an advisor of the Calverts in this legislation which fact does much to explain the legislation. Lewger was a recent convert from Anglicanism and was unfamiliar with Catholic thought with the result that he was greatly influenced by Protestant political ideas.

Most of this legislation was defeated in the Assembly. Clerics were exempted from military service and their spiritual jurisdiction more justly regarded but eventually mortmain was embodied in the Colony's statutes.

The action of the Assembly, especially in its preamble, reveals that its members considered the Church to be a perfect society in the technical sense of that term. As a perfect society it had its own proper end which transcended that of the state. Consequently it possessed its own proper means in the form of Sacra-

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<sup>10</sup> *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 18, 71-73.*

ments, legislative, judicial, and executive powers by which to direct its members to that end. To subordinate these functions to a temporal society was impossible from the very nature of things, howsoever Reformation thought may have attempted to explain such action as it did in the case of the Anglican Church.

The Catholic Church was by her very nature and structure preeminently beyond the control of the civil society in spiritual matters. Other religious sects, though they made no claim to being perfect societies in the sense explained above, justly claimed a similar protection on the basis of freedom of conscience. Accordingly, the form "Church" as it was found in the original preamble was changed to the plural so as to include other sects.

Soon after the Act of the 1640 Assembly the Catholic thought which had thus been formulated came into conflict with the Puritans. According to Calvin the temporal and spiritual societies were not two distinct entities with their own independent functions.<sup>11</sup> In contrast to the Anglican view, Puritans, following Calvin, considered the temporal as dependent upon the spiritual and under its control. Should the Puritans have gained power in Maryland the consequences would be most unfortunate for Catholics as well as Protestants. This happened twice in the two decades following 1640 and for the remainder of the century Puritans continued to be a threat.

By 1649 the Puritans had gained considerable power in the Assembly, but the force of Catholic thought was more than equally represented. "An Act Concerning Religion" of that year gives evidence of the conflicting ideologies, and in the conflict earlier Catholic thinking is elaborated.

In the Act of 1649 it was said that those who "deny Our Savior Jesus Christ to bee the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity . . . shalbe punished."<sup>12</sup> Such a view was common to Puritans in America but was on the face of it opposed to the toleration expressed in earlier Maryland thought which did not fail to assert itself in the same Act in counteraction to Puritan coercion. This section of the Act makes it clear such denials would have to be made in "a reproachful manner"<sup>13</sup> in order to be a violation of the law and the Act proceeds farther to rule out Puritan influence by stating that no person shall "from hence-

<sup>11</sup> "A Defense of Theocracy" by John Davenport, written in 1636, gives a New England Puritan's understanding of Calvin; Hart, *op. cit.*, 324-330.

<sup>12</sup> *Archives*, I, 244.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.



forth bee in any waies troubled, Molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor be compelled to the belief . . . of any other Religion.”<sup>14</sup> Other passages further assure that interpretation of the Act in later litigation will be in accord with the earliest practice of toleration.<sup>15</sup> We have one instance where this Act is applied and the Puritan interpretation ruled out; this is the trial of a Jew, Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo. The court record reads:

He had some talk with those persons, and . . . answered to some particular demands they urged, and as to that of miracles done by magic (in the case of Christ) he cited Moses, and the magicians of Egypt. But said not anything scoffingly, or in derogation of Him Christians acknowledged for their Messias.<sup>16</sup>

There is every indication that the Puritans had not succeeded with the Act, the best being their attempt at a later time to pass more effective measures to coerce religious belief.

The Act of 1649 contains the phrase, “noe person or psons professing to believe in Jesus Christ.” This occurs in other legislation during the period under consideration and presents this problem: Is intolerance implied in such clauses? From various sources we can conclude that it is not. We find this in a letter sent in behalf of Catholics to the King of England at a later date:

That in order to encourage all persons believing in Jesus Christ to settle in the said Province an Act of Assembly was passed in the said Province in the year 1640, entitled an Act concerning religion, by which Act amongst other things it was enacted that no person in the said province should be disturbed for or on account of religion.<sup>17</sup>

This reveals a general understanding which prevailed from earliest times in Maryland. The fact that Baltimore by his chartered Colony desired to shelter believers did not imply that he excluded others. What he wanted to do was to meet a particular need in England at the time and also to utilize what would be a selling point for obtaining colonists.

We know from the Act of 1640 that Maryland Catholic thought related itself to the Great Charter of England. This also might

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *History of Maryland: Province and State* by Matthew Page Andrews (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929), 95-96; 136-137.

<sup>17</sup> *A History of the Catholic Church* by John Gilmary Shea (New York: John G. Shea, 1886), I, 414-415.

explain the clause. Rather than exacting belief, the phrase sought to establish the supernatural dignity of man as a basis of his rights. This was the spirit of Medieval thought which produced the Great Charter of Liberties. It is not strange then that the concept of the sonship of God in Jesus Christ is indicated in Maryland documents. That was the objective fact whether one believed in that supernatural order—as the vast majority did in Maryland—or not. Unbelievers would be given the same respect and consideration because of that objective fact.

Many Americans sincerely raise the question today of what a Catholic majority of the future would do politically in our country. Some indication of an answer seems available in Catholic political activity in the period we have just considered for a Catholic majority did express itself with definite universal principles. What historically sets the Marylanders off from the political influence of Catholics elsewhere and at other periods is their deeper understanding of freedom of conscience and the emphasis which they gave to it. Their English background and Colonial situation account for this interpretation which has characterized American Catholic political thought. The Church will in the future as in the past respect this political tradition with its emphasis on toleration.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### MEDIEVAL

*The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, by the late C. W. Previte-Orton. Cambridge. 1952. 2v. \$12.50.

One of the characteristics of the present work, and one singled out by the various reviewers, is the large number of well-chosen and helpful illustrations (in black and white photography) taken from manuscripts and original sources and spread throughout this two-volume work. They are of help to students and teacher in bringing home ideas of art and architecture that are difficult to convey by language alone. It would have perhaps been better to have printed the whole work in one complete volume, because the present arrangement with index in the second volume and continuous pagination does not lend itself to easy reference.

Of the quality of the historical survey itself, there will doubtless be many opinions. The author, a lifelong scholar of history, shows skill and mastery in the telling of the history of Europe, generally a story of kings and battles, and politics with a following of the chronological treatment instead of separate chapters on economic or social conditions which one might be led to expect from the title. There are several pages, however, devoted to medieval universities and the author has synthesized his material very well here. In other passages, especially those dealing with Gregory VII, Boniface the VIII, the Great Western Schism, Avignon Papacy, in general where you would expect to find a strong English protestant viewpoint, you find it. More than that, the author has an unhappy facility in pronouncing sententious judgment upon historical characters that cross his pages: Gregory VII, whose "passionate belief in his own cause strengthened him and also cloaked from him his own intense love of sway." It must be admitted, however, that this style of writing is very thought-provoking, although sometimes it is only provoking.

The book is well written but emphasizes the political story of European history mainly. The treatment is helpful to the teacher of average college courses. The judgments are often thought-provoking and sometimes merely tendentious, but the work is by no means a final word on the subject.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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*New College and Its Buildings*, by A. H. Smith. Oxford. 1952. pp. 192. \$4.25.

There are very few educational institutions in our Western Civilization that can trace a continuous existence back to the second half of the fourteenth century. Founded in the England of Edward III for poor students at Oxford by a great Englishman, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, New College has seen the fury of the statue-smashing "reformer", weathered the Civil Wars (one of whose parliamentarians celebrated a return visit to his Alma Mater by removing its silver plate), outlasted the Cromwellians, and continued on through the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, albeit then in somewhat of an intellectual backwater.



The University Commission of the mid-nineteenth century was somewhat stringent with New College, but the results were startling. Before the twentieth century had begun, New College students were among the leaders at Oxford.

Although primarily a history of the various buildings, the volume contains many interesting sidelights on the educational system and student customs down through the centuries. New College was founded not only for teaching bachelors or senior students (graduate students in American parlance), but was meant to contain a complete cross section of the medieval university: boys just beginning the arts, master of arts, bachelors in theology and doctors on the faculty. The insistence on junior students receiving help from seniors went far to develop the tutorial system so peculiar to the English universities. Teachers of medieval history courses and historians of education have here a helpful volume for collateral reading for themselves and for their students.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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*The Alexandrian Library*, by Edward A. Parsons. Elsevier Press. New York. 1952. pp. xii and 468. \$7.50.

The Alexandrian Library has waited many centuries to find a satisfactory biographer. As one pages through this new study on the Library, the reader is impressed by the author's fine scholarship, his restraint in interpreting his facts and the vast amount of information which is presented about the institution of which he writes. He has made every effort to present to his readers the scholarly information which his subject merits as well as the interesting information which readers would wish to have about the Alexandrian Library. The book tells its readers the story of the foundation of the Library, its place in the learned world, how the Library was administered and even how it was catalogued. This is a book which should have wide appeal. For librarians it should be required reading. For historians it will be enlightening.

Joseph P. Donnelly, Saint Louis University.

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*Peter Speaks Through Leo*, by Francis X. Murphy. Washington, D. C. Catholic University of America Press. 1952. pp. xii, 132. \$2.75.

This work was written to commemorate the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth ecumenical council, held October 8-31, A.D. 451, but unlike most of the recent studies, which deal with various aspects, causes and results of the council, this book is a comprehensive historical account of the council itself. In doing this the author has succeeded in subordinating several factors such as the subtle distinctions of the theological Schools of Antioch and Alexandria, the nationalist aspirations of the Egyptians and the Antiochians, the ambition of the archbishops of Alexandria and particularly of Constantinople, the close union of Church and State, and the parti pris of the monks, to the proper perspective of the actual facts of the council itself.

This scholarly work is based on the acts of the Council, which gives us a wealth of detailed information. When the author lets these acts speak for themselves, the quotations, surcharged with emotions and passion, show all too clearly the human element in a church council. The whole work is writ-

ten in a pleasant, easy-to-read style. The rather small print allows more to be said than at first sight the number of pages would indicate.

The famous twenty-eighth canon of this council which gave the See of Constantinople great prestige and extensive jurisdiction merits full treatment in a special chapter. Here the seventeenth and final session passes in review. When Pope Leo finally confirmed the acts of the council he explicitly repudiated this canon.

The work ends with a short essay on the sources. We can unhesitatingly recommend this work to those desiring an intelligent understanding and an appreciation of the theological and historical factors involved in its clarification.

Edward Hagemann, Alma College.

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*The Origin and Development of Early Christian Church Architecture*, by J. G. Davies. Philosophical Library. New York. 1953. pp. 153. \$4.75.

The author starts with a brief historical survey of backgrounds to the period of six centuries which he will handle from an architectural point of view. The rest of the book deals with the churches and their furnishings for the first six centuries, with an extended treatment and evaluation of the various theories relative to the basilica. Some forty-five ground plans, several excellent photographic plates and a glossary of terms add greatly to the value of the book.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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*A History of the Crusades. Volume II: The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1000-1187*, by Stephen Runciman. Cambridge. University Press. 1952. pp. xii, 523. \$7.50.

The present second volume is a worthy successor to the first in this set. As in the case of the first volume, reviewed in a previous issue, an extensive list of original sources, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Syriac, and Balkan, is both discussed and used. Since the scholarly author follows these sources rather closely, his account is largely of warfare and politics. At times it does seem that he fails to point out where his sources are open to question, and where he should modify categorical statements. The aptly titled chapters are prefaced by short Biblical extracts, which sometimes require a little stretching. That of Chapter II in Book II could, however, well qualify as a subtitle for the entire second volume: "Debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, whisperings, swellings, tumults." (II Cor., xii, 20) A comprehensive map of the Near East, which would include, v.g., many places in Mesopotamia, which are frequently mentioned, is, unfortunately, missing from both volumes.

On the whole, the present installment is a gripping narrative. During this critical period the Crusaders' states both came to their zenith and crashed to an irretrievable fall. Highlighted are the reckless risking and the prodigal sacrifice of life in useless and ill considered ventures; the correlation of the fortunes of the little Crusader-states with the success of Byzantine maintenance of the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean world; the fatal consequences of allowing, first, a strong Moslem state to develop in Syria under Zenghi and Nurredin, and second the union

of this state with wealthy Egypt under Nurredin. Also brought into relief are the myopia of the newly arrived "crusaders" in the Near East, as contrasted with the cautious realism of the "old-timers;" the disastrous rivalries between individuals and families in Outremer; the bitter rivalries between the Moslems themselves, of which the Crusaders failed to take advantage; and the justifications for Byzantine policies which seemed so reprehensible to most Crusaders. Personalities which stand out include realistic Baldwin I, magnanimous John Comnenus, able Nurredin, venal and sensuous Patriarch Heraclius, the heroic leper, Baldwin IV, proud and partly treacherous Raymond of Tripoli, weak Guy of Lusignan, criminally foolhardy Reynald of Chatillon, and the extraordinary Saladin. The second volume of Runciman's *Crusades* confirms the judgment elicited by the first: the set will be invaluable for mediaeval historians, indispensable for historical libraries.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

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*Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers*, by G. W. Coopland. Harvard. 1952. pp. 221. \$4.50.

Professor Coopland has given an aid of considerable value to the general medieval historian and to the teacher of the Fourteenth Century in particular. In presenting a lengthy description of the place and position of Oresme's work (pp. 1-49) and then following with an English translation beside the French text of the *Livre de Divinacions* (pp. 49-121), the author has made accessible to both student and teacher a standard treatment, which was much-read by fourteenth century folk interested in the subject and expressed the ordinary opinions. The author's objective is not to deal with Oresme's work as a scientist or his influence in the rise of modern science but "to make some contribution to the picture of what was taught, what was believed, what was reproved, in that lay society which providing the demand for works in the vulgar tongue in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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*The Barbarian West 400-1000*, by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill. Hutchinson's University Library. London. 1952. pp. 157. Text ed. \$1.80. Trade, \$2.25.

This book is rather a series of essays and opinions of the author about the men and movements of this 600-year period, than a history of events. Although interestingly written and containing the evidence of wide reading and sympathetic understanding, there are certainly many statements and judgments which hardly agree with results of modern studies; such for instance as the remark about Alcuin "if Alcuin shared his master's views on education he had, like others to pay the penalty of almost constant attendance at the royal court, where he lived a far from ascetic life, no doubt hunting and carousing with the rest". A key to the juxtaposition of penetrating comments with such less happy ventures in judgment may perhaps be found in the significant recommendation of the author as the first of the list of books for the student, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.



*Primitive Man and His World Picture* by Wilhelm Koppers. Tr. by Edith Rayboneto. Sheed and Ward. New York. 1952. pp. viii, 264. \$3.50.

This work of an eminent ethnologist and anthropologist is a valuable and useful item for the non-professional. It deals principally with the religion of primitive man, but also with the question of man's origin; and in a chapter entitled "Historical Ethnology and Universal History," there is a discussion of great interest for students of history.

In the exposition of man's original religious concepts the author puts together in one place the evidence which the ethnologists have hunted out over the years; it proves conclusively that man was originally a montheist, and that he was taught his religion by God. The evidence which the ethnologists and anthropologists have accumulated destroys the evolutionary theory of religion. But I think that the order of presentation could have been better, so that both the learned in other fields, and the non-learned, could have more easily grasped and retained the information.

In the matter of man's origin the author is quite against the notion of the origin of man's body from an ape-form. But in this matter the non-professional had better read Humphrey Johnson's article in the Fourth Quarter number of the *Dublin Review* for 1953 to get the other side of the question. An appreciation of these two works would save him from such a mistake as John Maurice Clark made in his fine economic work *Alternative to Serfdom*—a presentation of man as the product of the most dismal, cave-man evolution.

J. E. Cantwell, Saint Louis University.

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*English Historical Documents. Volume II 1042-1189.* Edited by David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway. Oxford Univ. Press. New York. 1953. pp. 1014. \$17.50.

When the scientist working in chemistry or physics wishes to test the accuracy of his data, he can once more go through the experiments which have led to his conclusion. He can similarly test the conclusions of his colleagues, recreating the experimental data which they have utilized. But lo! the poor historian can do no such thing. The past is past; it can be studied but it cannot be recreated. For the historian his laboratory is the original documents. He can go no further back than his documents, although he can judge, criticise and evaluate them. The study of the original sources is then the absolute essential of every historian, and unfortunately with the plethora of tests and outlines and condensations, the study or quotation of original sources has become a vague ideal. The sources are "today more often quoted than read and more often sought than found."

The present volume is a very welcome reaction in favor of the study of the documents. Here is found a new version of mss. C, D, and E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 1042-1155, besides a selection of the Latin chronicles of the period. There are letters of important persons in Church and State, the whole Bayeux tapestry in plates, the financial role of royal government is shown in the Dialogue of the Exchequer and Pipe rolls, while there are reports of early trials in the judiciary. Many documents illustrative of feudal society are also included, large sections on Lanfranc,

St. Thomas Becket, as well as documents relating to the rise of English towns.

This is the first volume to be published in a series of 13 which will give a collection of English History documents from 300-1914. May the other volumes be ready soon!

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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*Dress in Medieval France*, by Joan Evans. Oxford. 1952. pp. 94 and 84 plates. \$9.50.

The author treats of the period from 1160 down to 1500 and writes in her usual clear and helpful style. She makes a point of departing from the works of modern costumers of art for the stage since, as she points out, they have made the mistake of including in their typical medieval dresses, costumes which the medieval artists evidently designed as purely fantastic. There are 84 plates of excellent photographic quality which are related to the various sections of the text. The book will prove very helpful to teachers of medieval history courses; if the student will spend some twenty minutes studying the pictures and remarks in the text related to them he will gain a far better knowledge than three hours of un-illustrated lecture.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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*History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, by Alexander A. Vasiliev. Second English Edition, Revised. Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 1952. pp. xi, 846. \$10.00.

We are now provided with a handy, one-volume, revised edition of this standard history whose protoplasmic original appeared first in Russian, in three parts, in the eventful years of 1917 to 1925. In its present publication text, footnotes, and bibliography have been brought abreast of intervening scholarships, and a new section on Byzantine Feudalism has been added. Over 1500 entries of works in more than seven languages are included in its bibliography. After a preliminary historiographical essay, the work is divided into eight chronological periods: To 518, 518-610, 610-717, 717-867, 867-1081, 1081-1204, 1204-1261, and 1261-1453. Political, economic, social, ecclesiastical, literary, intellectual, and artistic history are discussed in connection with each period. Due to his extraordinary linguistic equipment and nearly three-quarters of a century of studies in the field, Vasiliev has been able to present, in very readable English, a scholarly account of the whole sweep of Byzantine history, which it would be difficult to parallel.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

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*The Royal Domesne in English Constitutional History: 1066-1272*, by Robert S. Hoyt. Published for the American Historical Association by Cornell University Press. Ithaca, New York. 1950. pp. 253. \$3.50.

Using the Domesday Book, the *Inquisitio Geldi* and related materials. Professor Hoyt presents a scholarly explanation of the "dynamic" role of the royal demesne in the development of English monarchy from the Conqueror to the death of Henry III. The work examines the fiscal and judicial policies of the Norman king, their centralization and exploitation of the royal demesne, the problems consequent upon its alienation, and the development of royal tallage.

The author concludes that "the royal demesne was not in 1086, set apart from the rest of the realm," nor was it "an immunity as a whole." There was therefore, "no ancient demesne consisting of the manors of St. Edward which in any significant way were set apart . . ." "The normal condition of the royal demesne was the same as that of the demesne manors of barons and prelates," while "the public authority and private rights of the feudal monarchy were fused in the person of the *dominus rex*." Nor was the royal peasantry a singularly blessed set of people, but they were "subject to a thoroughgoing exploitation at the hands of royal officials . . ." Administrative practices of Richard, John and Henry III built up the concept of "the ancient demesne of the crown"; and, hence, the privileges of the tenants were the result of royal policy and a survival of pre-conquest conditions. In this aspect, these privileges are the "by-product" of the royal policy of turning the feudal suzerain into the early modern national sovereign.

These conclusions thus summarized are backed by a well-documented and fortified body of proofs and documents. The book should be of great help in bringing into clearer focus a little-known but very important part of the royal policy of the Norman kings.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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## MODERN

*German Nationalism: The Tragedy of a People*, by Louis L. Snyder. The Stackpole Company. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. 1952. pp. xvi, 321. \$3.75.

This book presents a sketch of extreme German nationalism, or Prussian Liberalism, for the past 150 years. After a chapter on the German "National Character" follow ten chapters in various fields built around a name: Jahn in pedagogy, the Grimm Brothers in literature, List in economics, von Gagern in politics, Moser in historical writing, Wagner in music and art, Stoecker in religion, Langbehn in pseudo-philosophy, Clausewitz in militarism, Meinecke in history.

There is a dichotomy of ideas and procedures in German history, an "unending struggle between the continental Teutons for a working compromise between uniformity and disruption" (page 8). Napoleon reduced the number of German states from over 300 to less than 100 and Bismarck reduced these 100 to 1. *Machtpolitik* effected both results. Prussian military discipline and Prussian bureaucratic efficiency seemed to be the only "liberalism" the German states found workable. Though the national anthem *Deutschland Ueber Alles* of 1841 was but "a simple call to the Germans, who were divided among many states, to regard national unity first" (page 294), it did, in the Bismarck-Wilhelm-Hitler tradition, call for German political and economic world domination. Real democracy, in which the rights of the individual as against the State are sacred, in which the State is of and by and for the people and not the people of and by and for the State, just cannot seem to penetrate the German mentality. Even Adenauer's late-in-1951 appeal for a republic which "appears in the eyes of all Germans as a State for which they can work with pleasure, and which they can serve with



pleasure" still has a Hegelian ring. It is still "*the liberties of the State*" (page 286), not the liberties of the people.

There is a neo-Nazi movement rising in Germany. But more alarming than this is the apathy of the Germans. "A valid interpretation of these figures (of a 1952 U. S. survey) would have to take into account not the 3% for the neo-Nazi movement or the 20% against it but the proportion of those Germans who proclaimed their apathy and inaction, who would not move to prevent it, who did not care, and who had no opinion. It is this alarming apathy that testifies to the striking slowness of political progress in Germany. During the Hitler era, a common complaint by Germans was: 'It was impossible for me to do anything about it. I was only an ordinary citizen.' Now, with a working democracy and the chance to do something about it, political apathy towards extremist movements remains. It is a discouraging sign." (Pages 292, 293.)

The book is well and interestingly written and amply foot-noted. The foot-notes contain the bibliography. Each chapter brings in anti-Semitism. The book is neutral in religion. The latest statement in the book is as of May 27, 1952.

Clarence A. Herbst, Saint Louis University.

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*Economic History of Modern Europe*, by Heinrich E. Friedlaender and Jacob Oser. New York. Prentice-Hall. 1953. pp. xxiv, 611. \$6.00.

One-semester courses in the economic history of Europe since 1750 have been in need of a solid teachable text which would be orientated towards the understanding of the present-day European economy in perspective. To do this at all well, the book would have to be written after 1950.

Friedlaender and Oser have produced a good classroom instrument for teaching such a course. The presentation is orderly and precise; the language is simple and clear albeit with an occasional foreign tang. The economic history of Europe is necessarily presented primarily as that of England, France and Germany with other countries, even Russia, receiving extended treatment only with respect to certain phases. This procedure is quite defensible under the circumstances, for "Europe" to the American student is by contact primarily that of the Rhine-North Sea area. The authors make a creditable attempt to bring in adequately the interrelationships of economic, social and political development. About 130 biographical "vignettes", similar in style to those found in concise dictionaries of biography, form a device which presents much biographical detail in a small space. Statistical tables and charts are used often and well. A little less than half the book is devoted to the periods since 1914. The orientation of the treatment leads well to the final chapter on European integration. The industrial problems of a politically divided Rhineland have been underscored throughout.

Notwithstanding a number of criticisms of detail which could be made, the net result is a highly satisfactory textbook for a course meant to study the historical background of the modern "Free Europe" economy.

Richard L. Porter, S.J., Saint Louis University.

*Jesuits Go East*, by Felix Alfred Plattner. Translated by Lord Sudley and Oscar Blobel. Westminster, Maryland. The Newman Press. 1952. pp. 283. \$3.50.

The situation of the Jesuits in the Orient between 1541 and 1786 drove them to deal realistically with the problem of travel and communication. Current sea-ways took a great toll of their number before they arrived at their missions. Isolated Christian communities of ancient origin, mythical or real, necessarily made them explorers in an effort to slip through Moslem African blockades or the Himalayan impasse. Over-land routes through Persia from India or through Central Asia from China were sought as a solution to the peril of sea travel itself or the impossibility of it because of European politics. To gain prestige with monarchs and mandarins for the glory of God they literally put China on the map with amazing scientific accuracy.

This story makes fascinating reading but it also has permanent value. It would appear that the most notable addition to more familiar sources is that of the German Jesuits in the Orient. There are few lengthy citations of sources except for diaries of sea voyagers in the early chapters and this suits the comprehensive character of the book. Analysis is left to the reader except for precise topic conclusions. Although the scientific usefulness is limited by the absence of footnotes and exact source references, the book is, all the same, a helpful survey of what Fr. Plattner's original writings in book and journal form contain.

For the teacher or student a further dimension is added to the age of discovery and the race for colonial empire which they find in their survey course if they read this absorbing treatment of these periods. The author's style is vivid and his viewpoint provocative.

Thomas O'Brien Hanley, St. Mary's College.

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*English Discovery of America to 1585*, by McCann, Franklin. New York. King's Crown Press. 1952. \$3.50.

Franklin T. McCann's *English Discovery of America to 1585* is very well written and should rank high in the field of Historical Geography. In this small, compact volume of two hundred forty-six pages, the author traces the influences of Classical Medieval geographers upon the early fifteenth century English mind at the dawn of the "Age of Discovery and Exploration."

And since more than half the chapters in the book deal with phases of Historical Geography other than English discovery of America, as the title suggests, the author by way of introduction clarifies the mind of the reader beforehand, lest he be led too far "a-sea" by discourse that might appear foreign or irrelevant to the title. In this introduction he explains what he means by the term "discovery." He interprets "discovery" as a "state of mind in which certain Englishmen progressed from the unknown to the known," as applied to the following chapters of his book.

His explanation of the Static Three-Part Earth Concept as advanced by classical geographers in conjunction with many other classical and medieval geographic ideas) is well done, and he clearly portrays that through the

"expanding of world horizons" by means of discovery and exploration, America, by the early sixteenth century gradually became accepted as the Fourth Part of the Earth, now less static.

He shows that early English disappointments in American exploration, 1509-1547 manifested themselves in current English literature which had a "pessimistic note."

The section dealing with the change in English foreign policy towards Spain with the accession of Tudor Queen Elizabeth, and the resultant awakening of English interest in voyaging due to growth of sea power and subsequent successes is excellent. And here again he points out the influences of these maritime achievements on English literature which became dynamic or aggressive in dealing with America in particular and the world at large.

Throughout his entire book the author deftly employs careful historical criticism.

Several shortcomings, however, should be pointed out. First, there is an utter lack of maps—one of the major tools of the geographer, historical or otherwise. Second, instead of convenient page footnotes, the notes are placed after the last chapter in the book. This arrangement causes the reader to either repeatedly turn back to the notes while engrossed in the text, or, should he choose to follow the "line of least resistance," omit reference to them. And third, much space is devoted to literature which might be cumbersome to the casual reader.

The bibliography is very adequate, and in general the book is very well done.

John W. Conoyer, Saint Louis University.

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*The Archeology of World Religions*, by Jack Finegan. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 1952. pp. xl, 599. \$10.

Among the many excellences of this book is the author's unaffected sympathy. Of the wrong theology and inadequate ethics of the ten living religions he studies, he cannot as a Christian believer and minister approve. But he does appreciate and sympathize with the sincere religious aspirations of those who "are seeking God, if haply they may feel after Him or find Him." His sympathy pleasingly lacks the affectation of unmeasured adulation of pagan cultures which propaganda for the "brotherhood of men" is making the fashion of our hour. As a believer, furthermore, the author has no commitments to the "party line" of materialistic evolutionism, and can read the history of human religion as a record of rational thought and aspiration. This just point of view contributes to saneness of interpretation throughout, but especially in the masterful chapter on Characteristics of Primitive Religion.

The two hundred and sixty illustrations will be a joy and a treasure for those interested in the history of religions. They have been selected for their genuine significance by the author's expert archeological judgment, and he explains them with competence and reader interest. The Princeton U. Press has reproduced them carefully and clearly. The pictures, it must be said, rather overshadow the text, so fine are they. This latter is the text of a serviceable manual of the history of religions based upon the deeper



research of savants in the various subdivisions of the field. We trust we have not misunderstood Doctor Finegan in thinking that he claims no more for his work. (Cf. Preface, pp. vii f. and pp. 310, 314).

"In each religion, the history of the faith is followed from its origin to the point where its most distinctive emphases have come into view. Inevitably the limitation means that a great many developments cannot be touched at all." Within these limits he gives reliably and with sober judgment the broad outlines of religious history. On occasion he is a bit too positive in his statements: for instance, in assigning dates, in saying that Asoka became a Buddhist monk and Kanishka a convert to Buddhism. It is a bit disappointing, too, to find no discussion of a number of important problems, such as what the Buddha meant by "nirvana".

The style is vivid and limpid. Deeply grateful for this will be readers who often are gratuitously afflicted by scholarly authors' insouciance toward the canons of English style. Historians and scientists, philosophers and theologians are not technically literateurs, but neither are they privileged beyond other writers to employ their language medium clumsily.

George C. Ring, Saint Mary's College, Kansas.

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*Michelangelo, His Life and Era*, by Giovanni Papini. Translated from the Italian by Loretta Murnane. New York. E. P. Dutton and Company. 1952. pp. 542. \$10.00.

Anyone interested in the complexities of the early Renaissance period in Italy will welcome this translation of Papini's life of one of the figures most involved in those complexities.

Papini has done an immense amount of research on the personal contacts of Michelangelo discoverable in his correspondence and other contemporary records. The resultant biography leaves something to be desired in unity of impression but is very valuable for the light it throws on other Renaissance figures besides Michelangelo himself.

Perhaps the most valuable sections in the book are the highly sensitive analyses of the spirit of Michelangelo's great sculptures and paintings. The effect of the twofold aspect of the Italian Renaissance on Michelangelo's work—a pagan individualism and a genuine Christian humanism—is made more apparent in this biography than in any other discussion of the artists' work known to this reviewer.

The book is rather generously illustrated with black and white prints taken from the film "The Titan."

M. B. McNamee, Saint Louis University.

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*Exploration and Discovery*, by H. J. Wood. Hutchinson's University Library; Hutchinson House. London. 1951. pp. 129. \$2.25.

This book, though of only one hundred eighty-six pages, contains "worlds of knowledge" in the field of Discovery and Exploration. The author's style of writing is very interesting, and one incident after another leads the reader onward as he traces man's adventures and achievements from ancient to modern times.

Because of the many centuries of discovery and exploration covered, and the limited space in this small volume, only the major episodes in contrasted

geographic regions that present different problems are considered. And throughout, the author deals with ideas and techniques that show advancement in the field of exploration.

Most chapters have an accompanying map, plainly drawn, but adequate nevertheless. Each chapter contains a bibliography of leading works dealing with the phase of exploration employed.

In clear, concise form the author sketches the major events in Exploration and Discovery from ancient times to the fifteenth century, noting improvements made in the art of navigation during the period concerned.

Following chapters include the discovery of America, the search for both Northwest and Northeast Passages, exploration of Africa, exploration of the Pacific, the search for a southern continent, Terra Australis—and the subsequent South Polar explorations. Here again, only major figures are considered—not in too much detail but in excellent “survey” style.

The author does not portray explorers in an “isolated” manner. Vividly he depicts the economic spirit of the times and takes each explorer with his contribution during the period involved.

As the centuries pass, the author indicates that a “scientific trend” began to pervade in exploration, and one of his later chapters deals with Alexander von Humboldt, the scientific traveler.

In general the book is well written, and the subject matter is as informative as it is condensed. For one who would like to obtain much information in compact form, it should be a “must.”

John W. Conoyer, Saint Louis University.

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*History of the Jews* by Paul Goodman. Revised and enlarged by Israel Cohen. Eighth edition, with an introduction by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1953. pp. 254. \$3.50.

This history covers almost 4,000 years, from the call of Abraham to modern times. Its geographical range is equally imposing: Persia, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, most of the countries of Europe and the United States, with references to South America. The cultural cycles which it embraces are numerous, varied and complex. Despite the magnitude of his task, the author has succeeded in writing not only an interesting but also an essentially accurate account of the vicissitudes of racial and religious Judaism. It is a story of brilliant achievement in all fields of human endeavor, but primarily it is a record of appalling racial and religious intolerance. The reader lays aside the book with the hope that mankind may find a more humane method of dealing with dissident minorities. We do not believe that the author has been unduly partial to those of his own race. His attitude toward Jewish messianism and pseudo-mysticism seems to prove the contrary.

The Gentile reader will find this an easy and concise method to acquaint himself with the chief aspects of Judaism both ancient and modern. No name of any prominence has been omitted. The book, however, does not deserve unmitigated praise. The supernatural element in the history of the ancient Jews is pushed into the background. John the Baptist is unjustifiably termed an Essene. Jesus and Paul of Tarsus receive inadequate treatment as is usually the case in books of Jewish origin.

Michael J. Gruenthaner, Saint Mary's College, Kansas.

## AMERICAN

*United States Foreign Policy*, by William Yandell Elliott et al. New York. Columbia University Press. 1952. pp. xviii, 288. \$3.75.

This volume presents the report of the first Study Group established by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. The Group consisted of three Harvard University professors, William Yandell Elliott, McGeorge Bundy, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Don K. Price, George F. Kennon, and the president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and of Brooklyn College, Dr. Harry D. Gideonse. The original purpose of the study was "to seek out and define, as far as [possible], those areas of the formulation and control of foreign policy in which inquiry and study were particularly needed." Among the problems discussed are: the presumptions and ends of foreign policy, reconciliation of morality and power, democratic leadership and survival, and the means to achieve the ends of foreign policy, with particular emphasis on the institutional, political, economic, and cultural. This last, the study of the means, is the "matrix" of the investigation and is concerned particularly with the executive and legislative branches of the government, the relation of "public spirit" (including public opinion), "problems and mechanisms relating to national security in the balance of its protection with individual freedom," and of problems consequent on the international position of the United States. In each instance, the general consensus of the Study Group is indicated, with recommendations for reform. Appended are the individual members' comments of deviation from or amplification of the consensus. A further appendix proposes certain problems for further research.

There will be disagreement on many of the questions raised by the Group, as is evidenced by the comments of the members themselves. It is good to read, however, that the consensus of these investigators, in regard to the questions of morality, national interests, and the use of power is that "democracies *must* . . . combine morality with power." This is the realistic approach.

In some instances, there is a questionable use of terminology. Though the import of the Group's consensus regarding Marxian "presuppositions" is understandable, it is unfortunate that the implication is given that "pure theology" can be possible "with no vestige of real science." Theologians consider their special interest not only a science, but the "Queen" thereof.

This is a challenging work and should provide a basis for much future fruitful investigation.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

*Cathedrals in the Wilderness*, by J. Herman Schauinger. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1952. pp. xiii, 334. \$4.00.

Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget has long deserved a worthy biography. In *Cathedrals in the Wilderness* the author has not only given this great Sulpician his just due, but also has helped to build up the available knowledge of the story of the Catholic Church in America. Some may object to the fact that there is little attempt to co-relate the story of Flaget with the whole story of Kentucky during his time, but there is so much to be said



about the work of the "Patriarch of the West" and his fellow bishops, David and Chabrat, that there is little space left in one volume for other information. Mr. Schauinger has stuck very closely to his last of giving the story of the Church, and has succeeded in giving us what will probably become the definitive biography of Bishop Flaget. The work is well documented and based on primary sources. Attention might be called to the slip on page 184 where he has Father DeSmet writing for the *Jesuit Relations*—an impossible feat, because the Jesuit Relations ceased publication long before DeSmet was born. The book is set up in a rather depressing format, and is not lightly written. All in all it makes heavy reading, but is well worth the effort.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

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*A Short Chronology of American History*, by Irving S. and Nell M. Kull. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, N. J. 1952. pp. 333. \$6.50.

This volume contains some ten thousand selected events in American history ranging from 1492 through 1950, with an emphasis on social, economic and political history. A companion volume is projected by the authors to cover the cultural and intellectual history of America. The record of events covers such diverse phenomena (in 1925) as the foundation of the Committee on Cause and Cure of War, the price of a Ford roadster at \$260, the inception of Al Capone's six years of gang war, and the establishment of the Guggenheim Foundation fellowship for the advancement of learning and fine arts. These events are listed in an introductory miscellaneous section which precedes each yearly, day-by-day catalogue, and represent items or trends which the authors felt to be of sufficient significance to merit mention but which, for one reason or other, could not be pin-pointed. Taking advantage of the authors' request for suggestions, it might be pointed out that the Councils of Baltimore, rather important in American Catholic Church history, might find mention.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

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*The Chattanooga Country, 1540-1951: From Tomahawks to TVA*, by Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood. New York. E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. 1952. pp. 509. \$5.00.

During the last two decades a new regional consciousness has developed in the United States. Regionalism in its purport is the antithesis of the older and obsolete sectionalism. Area studies that once emphasized sectional interests to the point of thwarting nationalism are now being given the new look of regionalism. The focus is on the contributions, both unique and commonplace, of various areas to the total growth of the nation. *The Chattanooga Country* utilizes this approach to history.

The authors write a case study in the history of the nation and not a guide book to the Chattanooga area. At every stage the local scene is merged with the country-wide panorama; this is illustrated by Chattanooga's growing pains, described as typical of many other American cities. Likewise, the impact of national occurrences on Chattanooga and the surrounding area is never missed; the treatment of Civil War military activities in and around Chattanooga is demonstrative of this. Also considered

are international events; the Spanish-American War (Chattanooga was the chief training ground for its soldier volunteers) and more especially the two world wars brought opportunities, problems and changes to the region and spread its influence to the far corners of the earth.

On the pages of this volume local, national and international history is sometimes rewritten and at other times underwritten with the refreshing approach typical of well done regional history. Here the Chattanooga area is appropriately given regional treatment, for the Tennessee Valley Authority, which has applied and tested the regional concept through long range economic and social planning, incorporates within its boundaries the Chattanooga clime. The authors (members of the faculty of the University of Chattanooga), not unlike the Tennessee Valley Authority, have achieved a high degree of success in their regional undertaking. Newspapers and manuscripts, as well as books, were used extensively in the preparation of this volume. The footnotes, which the publisher fortunately did not change to endnotes, provide ample documentation for the most fastidious of critics. The bibliography is extensive and indicates a wide range of sources. The book is concluded by an index that is analytical and otherwise thorough-going. *The Chattanooga Country* is truly an outstanding regional history and should be used as a pattern for similar studies.

LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

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*History of the Americas*. Vol. 1, *The Colonial Era*. pp. xii, 582; Vol. 2, *The American Nations*. pp. xii, 568, by John Francis Bannon, S.J. McGraw-Hill. New York. 1952. Each volume \$5.50.

Three years ago the convention of the American Historical Association presented a panel program on the ideal textbook in American history. Father Bannon spoke on that panel, and his presentation won the acclaim of the large audience who gathered for the discussion. In the volumes under review he writes out his mind for all to see, and the verdict must be highly positive.

Considered as a tour de force on the parallel history of the three Americas, the work quite evidently rests on the pioneer teaching and text of Professor Bolton. Bolton sketched both the subject and the guide book. Cotterell and Holmes essayed fuller developments some time back, but neither they nor the other writers on this attractive theme approach the maturity of these two volumes. Bannon has weighed the problem inherent in this matter—the possibility of a common history of the Americas—with care and decision. Convinced of the value that lies in a simultaneous study of the hemispheric story, he brings to its composition both high excellence of organization and contact with the pertinent research in its many intriguing parts. In the use of the King's English, and in narrative skill, he need not yield to any contemporary producer of student texts. Like Carlton Hayes, he will undoubtedly be used as a model in artistic writing.

No one doubts the utility of the course he sets down. Our American heritage is enriched from its various sources, all European in their origin yet all American in the process of constructing the Western World. And today, when a truly international point of view become a university necessity, this type of courses demands acceptance. Some timid spirits hesitate at what may be somewhat new in their studies. Yet this fear

vanishes quickly as the teacher allows the subject to find welcome in his historical home.

Several professors, known to the reviewer, intend to use this text to accompany diverse courses: United States History, History of the Western World, History of the West, Latin American History, Colonial History of America, the American Nation. No finer collateral reading could be employed than the panorama spread out in this broad narrative. Indeed a full sized account of the United States lies within these pages, and the same can be said of Latin America. As to the competence of the author in his field, and the breadth of human sympathy that it calls for, one runs no risk whatever in offering a genuine "well done" to this, his fourth fine piece of text production.

W. Eugene Shiels, Xavier University.

*Atlantic Impact*, by Evan John. New York. Putnam's Sons. 1952. pp. x, 296. \$3.75.

The English author Evan John (pseudonym of Capt. Evan John Simpson) is better known for his novels and plays than for his excursions into history. The present volume, purportedly the history of the *Trent* case during the American Civil War, is further proof of his ability as a story-teller, but hardly of his capability as an historian. It is not so much his use of unfamiliar terminology, such as references to the United States Senate as the "Senate House," nor the confusion of the Francis P. Blairs, Senior and Junior, nor the introduction of peripheral characters (including Marx) and disquisitions (such as on religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), nor the frequent use of rumor and gossip to fill out an incident, but, rather, the whole tone of the book which makes it a much better example of historical fiction than of history.

The author's effort, giving him credit for his own research in this case, can well serve as another instance of the challenge, given by the late Professor Dixon Wecter, to professional historians to write readable history rather than allow their toilsome dredging of facts (encased in stodgy volumes, shackled by *wissenschaft*) to be exploited by non-professionals who can write.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

*A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific Coast, 1510-1906*, by Robert Ernest Cowan. New edition with introduction by Henry R. Wagner and additional notes by Robert G. Cowan. Columbus, Ohio. Long's College Book Company. 1952. pp. xxxvii, 279, and non-paginated index. \$15.00.

This work, originally published in 1914 by The Book Club of California, is a famous piece of Californiana which has long been unavailable. Students already know it as an early bibliographical tool for California history. Its original 1000 selected titles are here reprinted, along with some worthwhile additions by Robert G. Cowan and an enlightening introductory essay on the compiler and the work itself by Henry R. Wagner. There are two valuable indices, one on a chronological and the other on a title-subject pattern.

John Francis Bannon, Saint Louis University.



*The Northern Railroads in the Civil War*, by Thomas Weber. New York. King's Crown Press, Columbia University. 1952. pp. xii, 318. \$4.00.

Historians have long pointed out the importance of the railroads in the winning of the Civil War. Until the appearance of this monograph most of these statements have been generalities, based on the over-all picture of transportation. Mr. Weber has given us a well documented and detailed story of the progress of the Northern roads during the War, and the particular effect the War had on the railroads as well as the railroads on the war. The book is written from the viewpoint of railroad history, not war history, and therefore has little about some of the battles fought over the possession of strategic points. Of great interest to the economist as well as the historian is his treatment of government regulation of the roads during the war. In the final chapter the author points out the specific contributions of the war and railroading to each other, such as the development of mass transportation of troops, new methods of construction, special equipment and the increased co-operation between the various lines.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

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*The American Diaries of Richard Cobden*, edited, with an introduction and notes, by Elizabeth Hoon Cawley. Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press. 1952. pp. xii, 233. \$4.00.

Cobden is best known for his fight against the Corn Laws and his work for free trade in the middle part of the nineteenth century. His two trips to America, in 1835 and 1859, spanned the active part of his life. On each of his trips Cobden kept a rather full diary. This is the first time either diary has been published. The work is well done and it is preceded by an informative introduction. Cobden was favorably impressed with America, of course, in that it was the land of free enterprise and seemed living proof of the validity of his doctrines. His judgments are enlightening as those of a laissez-faire enthusiast on young America.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

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*Morality in American Politics*, by George A. Graham. New York. Random House. 1952. pp. xiii, 337. \$3.50.

"Ethical Standards in American Public Life," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 280 (March, 1952), pp. ix-x, 1-157. \$2.00 (paper).

Professor Graham's expert appraisal of an important and critical problem deserves the attention of serious-minded Americans, including, or, possibly, especially, those in the profession of politics. Not all of Professor Graham's analyses and conclusions are of equal validity regarding the condition of morality in American public life, the influence of individuals, organizations, or pressure groups, and the most effective remedies to be applied. But they are all thought-provoking. For instance, it is good to read that a scholar of such standing and practical experience is convinced that there are moral standards, deriving from a common source though admitting variable application, that should regulate the conduct of states as well as of statesmen and politicians.

The author's study covers all levels of government, from national to municipal, and all branches. Without pilloring any individual or political party, he manages to point with considerable accuracy to, among many other things, the weaknesses (e.g., the seniority principle in determining legislative committee chairmanships), the perversions (e.g., the exploitation and commercialization of power by administrators), the inequalities (e.g., the disproportionate rural representation in state legislatures) in American politics and their consequent dangers. He explores the problem of public corruption and explodes the pessimistic arguments of its inevitability used to minimize or excuse it.

And despite the relatively depressing picture of the extent and depth of corruption in public life, his well-founded conviction that Americans have sufficient idealism, moral resources, and sensitiveness to principles, enables him to conclude that "there are no grounds for defeatism or despair." This qualification might be added; there are no such grounds, providing the problem of morality in politics is understood and sincerely and intelligently approached. Professor Graham gives us that understanding and points to the approach.

"Ethical Standards in American Public Life" presents a survey of ethical standards and practice in many facets of American life—elections, foreign relations, government (national, state, municipal), business, labor, pressure groups, radio, television, press, colleges, and churches. The contributors, among them professors, clergymen, political leaders, lawyers, and newspapermen, present divergent and interesting analyses and proposals. Senator Paul H. Douglas's resumé of the "senatorial ethics subcommittee's" statement of the problem and suggestions for the improvement of ethical standards in the federal government is one of the better contributions.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

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*The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier*, by V. V. Masterson. Norman. University of Oklahoma. 1952. pp. xvi, 312. \$4.00.

During the past few years there has appeared a number of histories of the railroad systems of the United States: Illinois Central, Burlington, Santa Fe, Northwestern, to mention a few. With the unfolding of the story of each road the history of the west becomes more complete. It would be difficult to name a more important factor in the westward movement than the railroad. Much has been said about the place of the trans-continental system, but as Mr. Masterson points out, the North and South were united in 1872 when the Missouri-Kansas-Texas lines spanned the Red River and linked up with the Houston and Texas Central to give America a "new route to the Gulf." This neglected story of the place of the Katy Road in the development of Oklahoma and the Southwest has now been told. The battle for town sites, the financial struggles with Eastern speculators, the great cattle trade of the territory, all receive competent treatment in this well written and thoroughly documented study. The value of the book is increased by well chosen illustrations, and the use of fourteen maps gives good location to the text.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

*Modern and Contemporary Latin America*, by Harry Bernstein. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company. 1952. pp. x, 717. \$6.00.

This work is heartening evidence of a trend which is gradually beginning to show in the historiography of the Latin Americas. In recent decades much writing in English has been done on the colonial period of their history, but too little on the national era. Teachers who have wished to treat the major Latin American nations were too often handicapped by not having an adequate text to put into the hands of their students. The author has gone far toward remedying that situation. The book is not perfect. But what pioneering venture ever is?

In one volume Dr. Bernstein has set down the story of Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia. He has added a short chapter which analyzes APRA, a development which has greatly influenced recent history in Peru and generally along the Andes. Further, by way of appendix he has furnished a very useful glossary of Spanish and Portuguese terms, as well as a carefully constructed critical bibliography. Though one may not always agree with incidental opinions and interpretations, the teacher must be grateful for the service which the author has rendered to the Latin American field.

John Francis Bannon, Saint Louis University.

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*The Texas Revolution*, by William C. Binkley. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge. 1952. pp. viii, 132. \$2.50.

Originally presented as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, this broad outline and interpretive study of the Texas struggle for independence is the mature product of a recognized authority. Professor Binkley skillfully, and interestingly, indicates the intricate and confusing forces, problems, and personalities which had bearing in the hectic years of revolution. In the last of the four lectures, Professor Binkley sorts out the various problems and reassesses their interrelations in a summarizing review.

The fundamental cause of the revolution is judged to be "the result of the difference between the racial and political inheritances of the two groups of people who came in to contact with each other on Mexican soil," which, in the circumstances, precluded compromise. The immediate cause, however, was "the substitution of centralism for federalism in Mexico and the determination of the Mexican authorities to use force rather than reason to compel an unqualified acceptance of the change." The only criticism this reviewer might offer, and that reservedly, since it is based on seeming innuendo, is that Professor Binkley is possibly a little too critical of the Mexican *capacity* for prudential action.

In this survey of the revolution one sees in concentration the turmoil, confusion, and occasional divergent forces which are so often a part of such upheavals. The disorganized efforts to establish a government and an army ending in such comic, yet near-tragic, episodes as having simultaneously three commanders and two governors, of an army in the field composed largely of non-Texans and a Texas army (of officers only) on paper, are cases in point. Professor Binkley is ruthless and accurate in placing the blame for such disasters as Goliad and the The Alamo not on faulty



or jumbled military organization, (Travis, a colonel of cavalry defending to the death a fort; Johnson, a major of artillery, commanding an irregular cavalry unit; and Fiannin, an artillery officer, leading a voluntary infantry regiment), but squarely on "the inability of too many minor leaders to subordinate their own selfish aims, individual prejudices, factional intrigue, and personal jealousies and ambitions to the common good." The same could be said, in due proportion, for the constitutional struggle.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

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*A Short History of American Life*, by Nelson Manfred Blake. New York. McGraw-Hill. 1952. pp. 732. \$5.75.

Textbooks for college courses in American social history have been strangely tardy in appearing on the market. James Harvey Robinson described *The New History* in 1912, and in the years that followed American historiography reflected the influence of this broadened point of view in articles, in monographs, and in the expansion of basic textbooks to include social, economic, intellectual, and cultural strands of American development. The first of the now thirteen volumes of the *History of American Life* series, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, appeared in 1927. But not until Harvey Wish wrote his *Society and Thought in Early America* (1950) and *Society and Thought in Modern America* (1952) has there been available a work of textbook compass exclusively devoted to these themes in American history. Now Nelson Manfred Blake of Syracuse University essays the same task in one volume.

To achieve a logical pattern of organization for describing the innumerable facets of American social history, broadly defined, is a massive task. Blake has done this commendably. His 33 chapters are divided into four sections, with the time-division dates 1776, 1861, and 1914. Each section gives substantial attention to agriculture, business and labor, political theory, immigration, religion, reform, science and scholarship, the arts, recreation.

Interpretation is also a function of the historian, a more demanding one than organized description. Blake asserts (vii) as his general theme, "the transplanting of European institutions to American soil and the modification of the Old World heritage in its new environment to produce that pattern of life which we call American civilization." His final evaluation (688) is that the "democratic culture" created by Americans deserves glorification "less in its peaks of genius—although these were not lacking—than in its high plateaus." These are high-level generalizations. Interpretation is also presented in connection with each of the separate strands of American civilization described. More attention might have been given to relating the strands to each other and to the whole complex of American social and intellectual development.

Blake's writing is clear and crisp, and his selection of data for illustrative purposes unusually pertinent and vivid. This reader feels that institutional and material developments are somewhat better handled than are theoretical trends. For example, in the discussion of natural science, the broader theoretical framework seems at times underplayed in favor of the

description of individual achievements of doctors or laboratory experimentalists. The intellectual defense developed in behalf of "big business" is summarized too sketchily, with key arguments omitted.

The fifty-four illustrations are extremely well selected and keyed to the text. One wishes there could have been three times as many, reproduced in full-page size. There are twenty-four pages devoted to critical "Suggestions for Further Reading."

*A Short History of American Life*, informative and readable, will provide stimulating collateral material for American history survey courses and will serve as an excellent text for courses in American social history. Juniors and seniors in one such social history course are proving most enthusiastic in their reactions at the present time.

James Harvey Young, Emory University.

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*The Faith of Our Fathers, An Anthology of Americana 1790-1860*, edited by Irving Merk and Eugene L. Schwaab. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. pp. xviii, 393. \$5.00.

This is an anthology compiled from the letters, speeches, and writings of the less important people in American history to show "the democratic aspirations of the American common man." Sojourner Truth, David Brown, Robert Walker and Rev. David Rice are not large names in American history, but they serve the editors' purpose better than well known names like Jefferson and Jackson.

This anthology contains brief selections organized around such topics as civil rights, free public education, religious freedom, and the right to earn a living. There is no doubt that the collection exhibits the democratic tradition in the American heritage. The editors could have improved their collection, we believe, by showing the reader that the men quoted were truly representative of the common man and not just handy figures chosen carefully to back up the editors' own concept of our democratic tradition.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

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*American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947*, by William Appleman Williams. New York. Rinehart. 1952. pp. 367. Text ed. \$3.75.

The tenor of this survey, which, incidentally, is practically limited to the twentieth century, seems to be that American attitudes and actions have ranged, fairly consistently, from the malicious to the stupid in regard to the "po' lil Russians." Let it be noted immediately, however, that this is not a charge that the author is writing along any sort of line. But there is no doubt that he is excessively critical of American policy and implementation of policy. It is true, of course, that American policy towards Russia, or many another nation, has not always been intelligent, consistent, or completely ethical. Nor, indeed, has the policy of foreign powers, especially that of Russia, been any better in reference to the United States. And this is not reading the present unhappy state of tension into the past.

The American policy, as the author sees it, has been vaguely promissory under Theodore Roosevelt, short-sighted under Taft, indifferent before the Bolshevik Revolution, intensely antagonistic and unrealistic after that event (and also in 1945-1947), befuddled and contentious under Franklin

D. Roosevelt in the pre-World War II era, hesitant during the war, and contradictory since the defeat of the Axis. There is a certain amount of truth in this, but the picture the author limns is a little too dark.

He has harsh words for the "tightly knit team" of so-called bureaucrats, imbedded in the Department of State in 1917 (including such men as William Phillips and Frank Polk) who "made decisions both in terms of their personal attitudes and from a point of view of a special-interest group within the government," the decisions being, of course, anti-Bolshevik. And he concludes with an indictment of the policy of containment as formulated by George F. Kennan, in which there are contradictions, indeed, and a debatable emphasis on force. However, in dealing with the Communist regime, as history shows and present events attest, strength and a realistic, hard-headed policy are necessary.

The author has based his conclusions principally on research in United States governmental archives and private papers. And in that, perhaps, as others have noted, lies a partial explanation of the emphasis of the work. The story from the American side, which has good and bad points, can be read in the documents, but the Soviet story, for the recent period, is known only from printed publications, which are therefore highly selected. It would be interesting to see the whole Soviet picture.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

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*American History and American Historians*, by H. Hale Bellot. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 1952. pp. 336. \$4.00.

The Eighteen Nineties have long been considered the watershed for American historical writings. During this decade professional historians, trained in graduate studies by Adams at Johns Hopkins and by Burgess at Columbia, unseated the literary but non-professional school, rejected much of their writings, and started to reinterpret and rewrite American history. This volume is an introduction to the men who established graduate studies in history and political science in American universities, an appraisal of the salient features of American historiography since 1890, and a survey of the history of selected periods of American history as reconstructed by these historians.

The author has two objectives. First, he introduces the reader to the origins of graduate study in history and to the progress made in investigating the American past since 1890. This is covered in the first chapter (pp. 1-40). Then, he shows how the investigations of the 20th century historians have altered and added to our understanding of the past. This is done by selecting six broad periods (the 18th century colonies, the Revolution and the Constitution, etc.) and by unfolding our understanding of each as illumined by the findings of the historians who have specialized on the period. Each chapter has a lengthy bibliography, and at the end of the volume all books used are listed alphabetically and seven maps are appended. Bellot does not profess to offer us an original contribution.

In the first chapter we are told that the work of the Middle Western School, under the leadership of Turner and Alvord, is the most distinctive feature of American historiography since 1890 and that the writings of the elder school lost their importance after 1910. With this in mind the



reader is unprepared to be told (p. 35) that the *American Nation* series (1904-07), written by this elder school, still remains the "bourn beyond which, . . . the student of today need seldom travel". One also misses in this survey the directions of our historical writings during the past decade—the reaction against the atomizing of history by the specialists, the return to literary and comprehensive histories, and the return of the non-professional historian to the ranks of respected historians. By far the most valuable part of this chapter is the bibliographical material in the footnotes and concluding note.

All readers, the intelligent citizen interested in our past, graduate students, and professional historians, will find the second section more helpful. Each period is reconstructed on the findings of the specialist, and the areas still in need of further investigation are indicated. The more experienced members of the craft will be more interested in Bellot's judgments and preferences. He considers the economic factor the most important in history; he has discovered, without sufficient evidence, a tendency among Americans towards political absolutism; a penchant for class-conscious terminology makes him describe the 19th century immigrant as the proletariat; he finds that Channing's *History* "is not wearing well". This is an example of preferences dictating judgments. In the September, 1952, issue of TMVR, that excellent journal of the school Bellot praises so highly, one will find a lengthy appraisal of Channing's *History*; the writer concludes that the *History* still "wears well," and "remains one of the major accomplishments in the field of American historical writing".

William L. Lucey, College of the Holy Cross.

## CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. Many of these books will be reviewed in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and number of pages were not obtainable.

### MEDIEVAL

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